A SHORT ANCIENT HISTORY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

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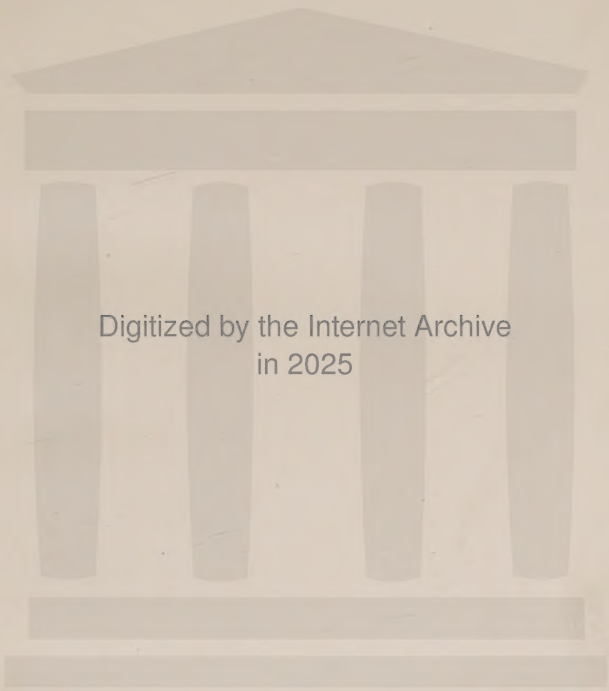
A short ancient history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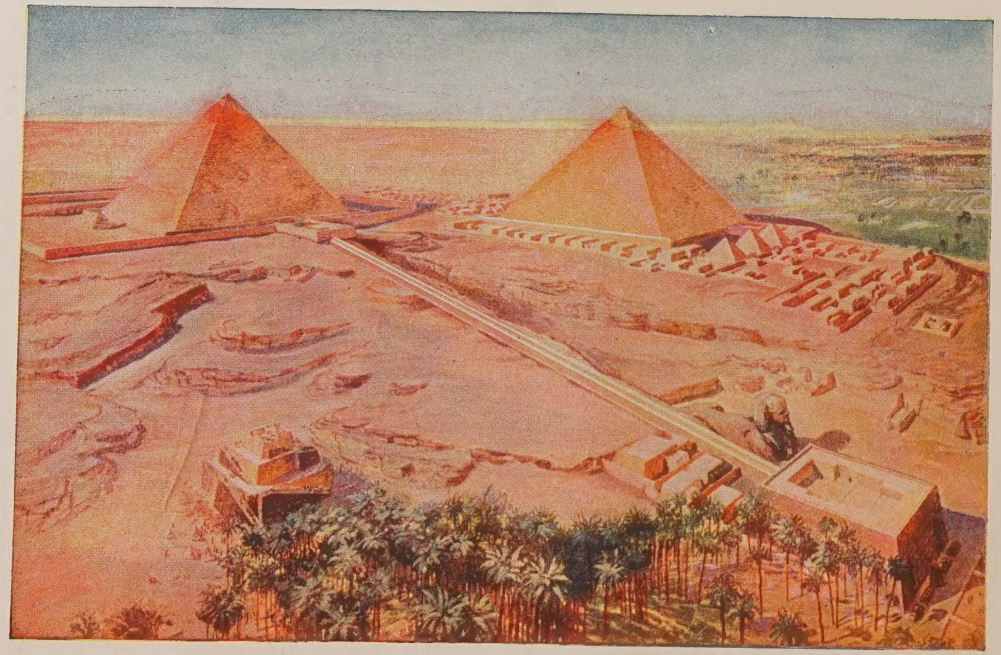

PLATE I. RESTORATION OF THE GREAT PYRAMIDS AND OTHER TOMB MONUMENTS IN THE ANCIENT CEMETERY OF GIZEH, EGYPT. (AFTER HOELSCHER)

PLATE I. These royal tombs (pyramids) belonged to the leading kings of the early part of the Pyramid Age (about 3000 to 2500 B.C.). The Great Pyramid, the tomb of King Khufu (Greek Cheops), is on the right (see p. 29). Next in size is that of King Khafre (Greek Chephren) on the left. On the east side (front) of each pyramid is a temple (see also Fig. 22), where the dead king received food, drink, and clothing for the life hereafter. These temples, like the pyramids, were built on the desert plateau above, while the royal town was in the valley below (on the right, see p. 30 and Fig. 10). For convenience, therefore, the temple was connected with the town below by a covered gallery, or causeway, of stone. This causeway may be seen descending in a straight line from the pyramid and temple of King Khafre, and terminating below just beside the Sphinx, in a large oblong building of stone, called a valley-temple, to distinguish it from the pyramid temple on the plateau above. It was a splendid structure of granite, serving not only as a temple, but also as the entrance to the causeway from the royal city. This valley-temple was adorned with magnificent statues of the king, a number of which were discovered at the bottom of a well in the valley-temple, where they had at some time been hurled by enemies. They now adorn the great Museum at Cairo; the head of the finest of them may be seen in Fig. 23. Here beside his valley-temple we see another great statue of King Khafre, which he had carved as a colossal portrait of himself, with the body of a lion. It is commonly called the Great Sphinx. It is the largest portrait figure ever executed; the head is sixty-five feet high; the body is one hundred eighty-five feet long, and the face is about fourteen feet across. The pyramids are surrounded by the tombs of the queens and the great lords of the age (see Fig. 15). At the lower left-hand corner is an unfinished pyramid, showing the inclined ascents up which the stone blocks were dragged. These ascents (called ramps) were built of sun-baked brick and were removed after the pyramid was finished

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BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

BEING THE ANCIENT-HISTORY SECTION FROM
"OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY," PART I
BY JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON
AND JAMES HENRY BREASTED

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OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, PART I

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PREFACE

If boys and girls are to understand the world in which they live, it is essential for them to have some knowledge of the whole past of mankind, since the present cannot be explained except by the past. The older historical manuals were, in the main, short accounts of past *events*; but it is really past *conditions* and past *institutions* that are best worth knowing about. The aim of this book is to avoid the defect of the older treatises by subordinating the mere happenings of the past to a clear statement of the conditions under which men lived for long periods and of the ideas which they held.

The arrangement of the volume is novel in a number of respects. Each chapter is divided into several *topical* sections, as will be seen by consulting the Table of Contents. The topics are, of course, arranged with strict attention to chronology, but the writer has always before him a particular subject which he aims to make plain under each section heading. In short, each section is a *discussible topic and not a fragment of chronology*. The author hopes that this plan of presentation will serve to make the book more useful and teachable than the older method of arrangement.

Much attention has been given to the illustrations. The vastness of the field to be covered and the necessary brevity of the text render it essential to reënforce the written word by reproductions of the actual vestiges of the past. Not only have the illustrations been carefully chosen with a view of corroborating and vivifying the text, but under each picture a sufficiently detailed legend is given to explain its significance, and these often add materially to the information already given. The pictures consequently give a sort of parallel narrative and furnish a helpful supplement and corrective to the text itself.

Everything which does not obviously bear on the chief matters under consideration is sedulously excluded.

In the preparation of the book the author has received great aid from Professor David S. Muzzey in the difficult task of presenting the development of Greece in a brief form; valuable suggestions and emendations have also been contributed by Dr. Carl F. Huth and Mr. A. F. Barnard of Chicago. To Dr. Huth's kindness is also due the valuable bibliography for Chapters V–XI, for which the author is greatly indebted.

To Mrs. William T. Brewster we are indebted for the delightful water-color sketch of the plain of Argos from the citadel of ancient Tiryns (Plate II, p. 124). Besides photographs furnished by the Egyptian Expedition of The University of Chicago, many illustrations have been contributed by a number of foreign scholars, to whom the author would here express his thanks, especially to Bissing (Munich), Borchardt (Cairo), Déchelette (Roanne), Dörpfeld (Athens and Berlin), Hoernes (Vienna), Koldewey (Babylon), Montelius (Stockholm), Schaefer (Berlin), Steindorff (Leipzig), and some others, who have kindly furnished photographs and sketches. The author is also especially indebted to Messrs. Underwood & Underwood for permission to use their unrivaled series of Egyptian, oriental, and Mediterranean photographs as the basis for a number of sketches: Figs. 9, 10, 54, 57, 69, 72, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 103, 109, 117, also tailpiece, p. 110. No more vivid impressions of the places and scenes where the men of the early world lived and wrought can be obtained than by the use of these photographs in stereoscopic form. Teachers who make the Underwood stereographs a part of their equipment will find that their teaching gains enormously in effectiveness. The very full illustrative material, with detailed explanations added, employed in the author's *Ancient Times* will be found useful in supplementing the illustrations herein.

J. H. B.

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OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

EARLY MANKIND IN EUROPE

Section 1. Earliest Man's Ignorance and Progress

Nature does not equip us with knowledge of civilization

A new-born child placed in the wilds of a tropical forest and left there alone would of course die. If, however, we can imagine him possessing the strength to survive until he reached the age of ten years, he would know none of the many things which a boy of ten in your town or city now knows. Hunger would have led him to eat the nuts, fruits, and digestible roots and tubers which he would find in the forest. But if you should show him a chair, he would not know what its use might be. If you placed him in front of a door, he would not know how to open it. He would possess no tools or weapons or implements of any kind, nor any clothing. He would probably never have seen a fire; or, if so, he would not know how to make one or realize that his food might be cooked. Finally, he would not even know how to speak, or that there was such a thing as speech.

Earliest man had to learn everything

All these things every child among us learns from *others*. But the earliest men had no one to teach them these things, and by slow experience and long effort they had to learn them for themselves. Everything had to be found out; every tool, however simple, had to be invented; and, above all, the earliest man had to discover that he could express his feelings and ideas by making sounds with his throat and mouth. At first thought the men who began such discoveries seem to us to be

mere animals. Nevertheless the earliest man possessed, among other advantages, three things which lifted him high above the animals. He had a larger and a more powerful brain than any animal; he had a pair of wonderful hands such as no other creature possessed, and with these he could make tools and implements; finally, he had a throat and vocal organs such that in the course of ages he would learn to speak.

Condition of earliest man

At first man must have roamed the tropical forests without any clothing, without huts or shelter of any kind, with no tools or weapons, eating roots, fruit or berries where he found them. Occasionally he may have found a dead bird or animal killed by some other creature, and thus learning the taste of flesh he would be led to pursue the less dangerous animals and to lay them low with a stone or a club. His food was of course all raw, for he could not even make a fire, nor did he know that roasted flesh was better food.

Condition of the Tasmanians of modern times

Men so completely uncivilized as this no longer exist on earth. The most savage tribes found by explorers have learned how useful fire is and they understand how to make it. The people whom the English found on the island of Tasmania a century or so ago were among the lowest savages known to us. They wore no clothing; they had not learned how to build a hut; they did not know how to make a bow and arrows, nor even to fish. They had no goats, sheep, or cows, no horses, nor even a dog. They had never heard of sowing seed nor raising a crop of any kind. They did not know that clay will harden in the fire, and so they had no pottery jars, jugs, or dishes for food.

Naked and houseless, the Tasmanians had learned to satisfy only a very few of man's needs. Yet that which they had learned had carried them a long way beyond the earliest men. They could kindle a fire, which kept them warm in cold weather, and over it they cooked their meat. In order to secure this meat they had learned to construct very good spears, though without metal tips, for they had never heard of metal. These

spears they could throw with great accuracy and thus bring down the game they needed for food, or drive away their human enemies. They could take a flat stone, and by chipping off its edges to thin them they could produce a rude knife with which to skin and cut up the game they killed. They were also very deft in making cups, vessels, and baskets of bark fiber. Above all, they had a simple language, with words for all the things they used, and this language served for everything they needed to say.

Progress of early man traceable by us after he begins to make stone tools

It is certain that man has existed on the earth for several hundred thousand years at least. We cannot now trace all the different stages in his progress, which brought him at last as far as the savage Tasmanians had come. We do not know all the various steps which finally enabled him to speak. With fire he would become acquainted from the forest fires kindled by lightning, or from the floods of molten lava descending the slopes of the fiery mountains along the Mediterranean. The wooden clubs and other weapons or tools of wood which he made in this stage of his career have, of course, long ago perished. As soon as he began to make *stone* tools, however, he was producing something which might last for untold thousands of years. This art he first learned in Europe some fifty thousand years ago. After that he left behind him a trail of stone tools, and by these we can follow him through the different stages of his upward progress, as they show us his increasing skill in such matters. We thus find that he passed through three stages: the Early Stone Age, the Middle Stone Age, and the Late Stone Age.

Section 2. The Early Stone Age

Early Stone Age tools

A few rough and irregular fragments of flint still survive to show us man's earliest attempts to make weapons or tools of stone. The form which he finally adopted as his first successful tool, however, is a roughly shaped piece of flint as long as a man's hand, which we call a *fist-hatchet* (Fig. 1). Its ragged

edge was sufficiently sharp so that its owner could cut and chop with it. Its maker had not learned to attach a handle, but he grasped it firmly in his fist. The first of these fist-hatchets discovered in modern times was found in England two hundred years ago, but at that time no one understood its enormous age, or guessed who had made it. For the last fifty years such fist-hatchets have been found in large numbers deeply buried under the sand and soil that has gathered since their owners used them along the rivers of France, Belgium, and England. They are found side by side with the bones of tropical animals of vast size, showing that the men who made these stone tools lived in a much warmer climate than that of Europe to-day.

FIG. 1. A FLINT FIST-HATCHET OF THE EARLY STONE AGE

The earliest finished tool produced by man, chipped from a great flake of flint some fifty thousand years ago. The original is about nine inches long, and the drawing reduces it to less than one third. It was grasped in the fist by the upper (narrower) part, and never had any handle. Handles of wood or horn do not appear until much later (compare Fig. 7). See *Ancient Times*, Fig. 2

We may call the period of the fist-hatchets the Early Stone Age. The man of that day, some fifty thousand years ago, led the life of a hunter, roaming about in the shadows of the lofty forests which fringed the streams and covered the wide plains of western Europe. The ponderous hippopotamus wallowed along the banks of the rivers. The fierce rhinoceros with a horn three feet long charged through the jungles of what is now France and England. The hunter fleeing before them caught dim glimpses of mountainous elephants plunging through the thick tropical growth.

Herds of bison and wild horses grazed on the uplands and the glades resounded far and wide with the notes of tropical birds which settled in swarms upon the tree tops. At night the hunter slept where the chase found him, trembling in the darkness at the roar of the lion or the mighty saber-tooth tiger.

The coming of the ice

For thousands of years the life of the hunter went on with little change. He slowly improved his rough stone fist-hatchet, and he probably learned to make additional implements of wood, but of these last we know nothing. Then he began to notice that the air of his forest home was losing its tropical warmth. Geologists have not yet found out why, but as the centuries passed, the ice which all the year round still overlies the region of the North Pole and the summits of the Alps began to descend. The northern ice crept further and further southward until it covered England as far south as the Thames. The glaciers of the Alps pushed down the Rhone valley as far as the spot where the city of Lyons now stands. On our own continent of North America the southern edge of the ice is marked by lines of bowlders carried and left there by the ice. Such lines of bowlders are found, for example, as far south as Long Island and westward along the valleys of the Ohio and the Missouri.[1] The hunter saw the glittering blue masses of ice with their crown of snow, pushing through the green of his forest abode and crushing down vast trees in many a sheltered glen or favorite hunting ground. Gradually these savage men of early Europe were forced to accustom themselves to a cold climate, but many of the animals familiar to the hunter retreated to the warmer south, never to return.

[1] Geologists have now shown that the ice advanced southward and retreated to the north again, no less than four times. Following each advance of the ice a warm interval caused its retreat. There were four warm intervals, and we are now living in the fourth. The evidence now indicates that man began to make stone implements in the third warm interval. The last advance of the ice therefore took place between us and them. It is perhaps some thirty thousand years ago that the ice began to come south for the last time.

Section 3. The Middle Stone Age

Remains of Middle Stone Age man in caverns

Unable to build himself a shelter from the cold, the hunter took refuge in the limestone caves, where he and his descendants continued to live for thousands of years, during the next or "Middle Stone Age." Archæologists now find in the caverns of France, Spain, and Italy numerous objects used by these cave men during their long sojourn in the caverns. Rubbish, once even as much as forty feet deep, accumulated on the cavern floor, as century after century the sand and earth blew in, and fragments of rock fell from the ceiling. To-day we find among all this also many layers of ashes and charcoal from the cave dwellers' fire, besides numerous tools, weapons, and implements which he used. These things disclose, step after step, his slow progress and show us that man had now left the old fist-hatchet far behind and become a real craftsman.

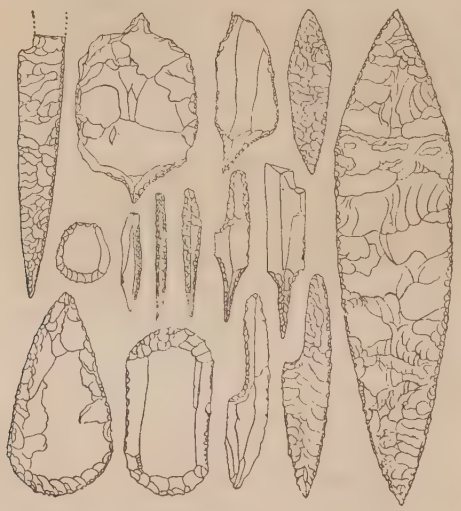


Fig. 2. Selection of Flint Tools of Middle Stone Age Man

These tools are not only more highly varied than man possessed before (see Fig. 1) but they are much more finely finished, especially along the edges, where you can see that tiny flakes have been chipped off in a long row, producing a sharp cutting edge. Many thousands of years elapsed from the time of Fig. 1 to that of Fig. 2

The industries of Middle Stone Age man

We see him at the door of his cave, carefully chipping off the edge of his flint tools and producing such a fine cutting edge that he can use it to shape bone, ivory, and especially reindeer horn. The mammoth furnishes him with ivory, and great herds of reindeer which had come southward with the ice are grazing before the mouth of the cavern. The hunter has a considerable list of tools from which he can select. We see at his elbow knives, chisels, drills and hammers, polishers and scrapers, all of flint (Fig. 2); while with these he works out pins, needles, spoons, and ladles, all of ivory or bone, and carves them with pictures of the animals he hunts in the forest (Fig. 4). He now fashions a keen, barbed ivory spear point, which he mounts on a long wooden shaft. He has also discovered the bow and arrow and carries at his girdle a sharp flint dagger. The fine ivory needles (Fig. 3) show that the hunter's body is now protected from cold and the brambles of the trackless forest by clothing sewed together out of the skins of the animals he has slain.

FIG. 3. IVORY NEEDLE OF THE MIDDLE STONE AGE

With such needles and with tendons as thread the skin clothing of the Middle Stone Age hunters was sewed together by the earliest seamstresses of Europe, twenty or twenty-five thousand years ago

Life of the Middle Stone Age hunter

Thus equipped the hunter of the Middle Stone Age was a much more dangerous foe of the wild creatures than his ancestors of the Early Stone Age. In a single cavern in Sicily archæologists have dug out the bones of no less than two thousand hippopotami which these Middle Stone Age hunters killed. Here too lay even the bone whistle with which the returning hunter announced his coming to the hungry family waiting in the cave. Surrounded by revolting piles of garbage and amid foul odors of decaying flesh our savage European ancestor crept into his cave dwelling at night, little realizing that many feet beneath the cavern floor on which he slept lay the remains of *his* ancestors in layer upon layer, the accumulations of thousands of years.

Middle Stone Age art

It is not a little astonishing to find that these Middle Stone Age hunters could draw and even paint with the greatest skill. In the caverns of southern France and northern Spain their

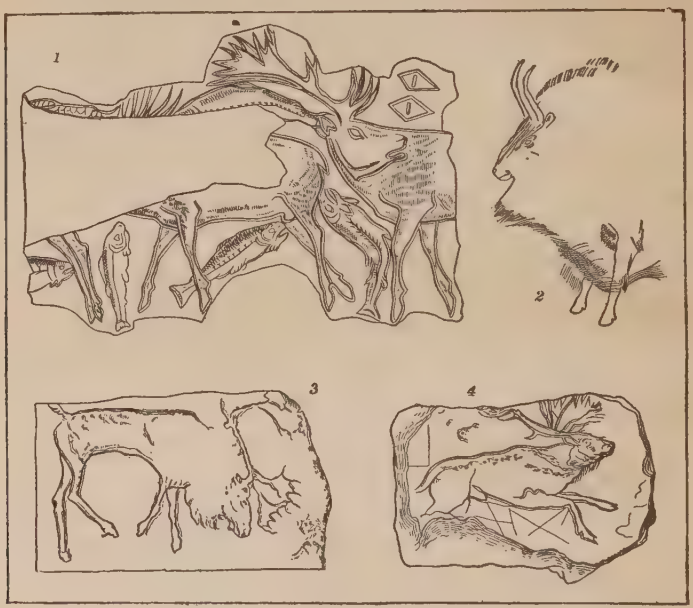


FIG. 4. DRAWINGS CARVED BY MIDDLE STONE AGE MAN ON IVORY

1, marching line of reindeer with salmon in the spaces — probably a talisman to bring the hunter and fisherman good luck (see p. 9); *2*, a bison bull at bay (not on ivory but incised in the rock of a cavern wall; over one hundred fifty caverns containing such paintings and carvings are known in France and Spain); *3*, a grazing reindeer; *4*, a running reindeer. These carvings are the oldest works of art by man, made fifteen or twenty thousand years ago. The work was done with the pointed and edged tools of flint shown in Fig. 2. See *Ancient Times*, Figs. 9 and 10

paintings have been found in surprising numbers in recent years. Long lines of bison, deer, or wild horses cover the walls and ceilings of these caves. They are startling in their lifelikeness and

vigor. Sometimes they are carved in the rock wall of the cavern (Fig. 4, *2*); again the ancient hunter employed colored earth mixed with grease, and thus produced paintings which still survive on the cavern wall. We may suppose that the hunter believed the presence of this *pictured* game filling his cavern

FIG. 5. RESTORATION OF A SWISS LAKE-DWELLERS' SETTLEMENT

The lake-dwellers felled trees with their stone axes (Fig. 7, *5*) and cut them into piles some twenty feet long, sharpened at the lower end. These they drove several feet into the bottom of the lake, in water eight or ten feet deep. On a platform supported by these piles they then built their houses. The platform was connected with the shore by a bridge, which may be seen here on the right. A section of it could be removed at night for protection. The fish nets seen drying at the rail, the "dug-out" boat of the hunters who bring in the deer, and many other things have been found on the lake bottom in recent times

would work magically to aid him in filling it with the *real* game which he daily sought to bring in there. For the same reason also he decorated the ivory and bone weapons which he used with the figures of the animals he pursued (Fig. 4, *1*, *3*, *4*). This is the earliest art in the whole career of man, in so far as we know.

Section 4. The Late Stone Age

Last retreat of the ice and coming of the Late Stone Age

The signs left by the ice, and still observable in Europe, would lead us to think that it withdrew northward for the last time probably some ten thousand years ago. The climate again grew warmer and became what it is to-day. Men were soon after making rapid advances. They had now learned that it was possible

Fig. 6. Surviving Remains of a Swiss Lake-Village

After an unusually dry season the Swiss lakes fell to a very low level in 1854, exposing the lake bottom with the remains of the piles which once supported the lake villages along the shores. They were thus discovered for the first time. On the old lake bottom, among the projecting piles, were found great quantities of implements, tools, and furniture, like those in Fig. 7, including the dug-outs and nets of Fig. 5, wheat, barley, bones of domestic animals, woven flax, etc. (see p. 12). There they had been lying some five thousand years. Sometimes the objects were found in two distinct layers, the lower (earlier) containing only *stone* tools, and the upper (later) containing *bronze* tools, which came into the lake village at a later age and fell into the water on top of the layer of old stone tools already lying on the bottom of the lake (see p. 114)

to *grind* the edge of a stone ax or chisel (Fig. 7) as we now do with tools of metal. They were also able to drill a hole in the stone ax head and insert a handle (Fig. 7). With such an ax they could fell trees and build houses. The common use of the *ground* stone ax brings in the Late Stone Age. From the forests of southern Sweden southward to Sicily and the heel of Italy, from the marshes of Ireland and the harbors of Spain eastward to the

Greek islands and the shores of the Black Sea, the villages of Late Stone Age man stretched far across Europe. The smoke of his settlements rose through the forests and high over the

FIG. 7. PART OF THE EQUIPMENT OF A LATE STONE AGE LAKE DWELLER

This group contains the evidence for three important inventions made or received by the men of the Late Stone Age: *first*, pottery jars, like *2* and *3*, with rude decorations, the oldest baked clay in Europe, and *1*, a large kettle in which the lake-dwellers' food was cooked; *second*, ground-edged tools like *4*, stone chisel with ground edge (p. 10), mounted in a deerhorn handle like a hatchet, or *5*, stone ax with a ground edge, and pierced with a hole for the ax handle (the houses of Fig. 5 were built with such tools); and *third*, weaving, as shown by *6*, a spinning "whorl" of baked clay, the earliest spinning wheel. When suspended by a rough thread of flax eighteen to twenty inches long, it was given a whirl which made it spin in the air like a top, thus rapidly twisting the thread by which it was hanging. The thread when sufficiently twisted was wound up, and another length of eighteen or twenty inches was drawn out from the unspun flax to be similarly twisted. One of these earliest spinning wheels has been found in the Swiss lakes with a spool of flaxen thread still attached. (From photograph loaned by Professor Hoernes)

lakes and valleys of Switzerland and northern Italy, where his villages of pile dwellings (Fig. 5) fringed the shores of the lakes. His roofs dotted the plains and nestled in the inlets of the sea,

whence they were strewn far up the winding valleys of the rivers into the interior of Europe.

Civilization of the Late Stone Age; wooden dwellings and wooden furniture

The wooden dwellings of the Late Stone Age are the earliest such shelters found in Europe. Sunken fragments of these houses are found all along the shores of the Swiss lakes, lying at the bottom, among the piles which supported the houses of the village (Fig. 6). Pieces of stools, chests, carved dippers, spoons, and the like, all of wood, show that these houses were equipped with convenient wooden furniture. The householder now knows that clay will harden in the fire, and he makes handy jars, bowls, and dishes of burned clay (Fig. 7). Although roughly made without the use of the potter's wheel and unevenly burned without an oven, they add much to the equipment of his dwelling. Before his door the women spin their flax, and the rough skin clothing of his ancestors has given way to garments of woven stuff. Up the hillside stretches the field of flax, and beside it another of wheat or of barley. The seeds which their ancestors once gathered from the scattered tufts of the wild grasses, these Late Stone Age men have slowly learned may be planted near the dwelling in ground prepared for the purpose. Thus wild grain is domesticated, and agriculture has been introduced.

Discovery of burned clay and appearance of earliest pottery

Flax and woven clothing

Seed-bearing wild grasses become domesticated grain

Domestication of cattle, sheep, and goats

On the green uplands above are now feeding the creatures which the Middle Stone Age man once pursued through the wilds, for the mountain sheep and goats and the wild cattle have now learned to dwell near man and submit to his control. Indeed, the wild ox bows his neck to the yoke and draws the plow across the forest-girt field where he once wandered in unhampered freedom. Fragments of wooden wheels in the lake-villages show that he is also drawing the wheeled cart, the earliest in Europe. Groups of massive tombs still surviving, built of enormous blocks of stone (Fig. 8), requiring the united efforts of large numbers of men, disclose to us the beginnings of coöperation and social unity. The driving of fifty thousand piles for the lake-village at Wangen shows that men were learning to work together in communities, but a flint arrowhead

Earliest carts

Communities organized

FIG. 8. LATE STONE AGE TOMB IN FRANCE

These tombs are found in great numbers, especially along the Atlantic coast of Europe (but also in north Africa) from Gibraltar to the Norse peninsulas, where they still stand by thousands. One Danish island alone contains thirty-four hundred of them. It was in such a tomb that a dead chief of the Late Stone Age was buried. The stones, weighing even as much as forty tons apiece, were sometimes dragged by his people many miles from the nearest quarry

found still sticking in the eyehole of a skull reminds us that these communities were often at war with one another; while amber from the north and the wide distribution of a certain kind of flint found in only one mine of France tell us of the commerce which wandered from one community to another. War Commerce

Such mines reveal very vividly the industries of this remote age. A mine opened by archæologists in England still contained eighty much-worn picks of deerhorn used by the flint miners; while in Belgium a fall of rock from the ceiling covered and preserved to us even the body of one of these ancient miners.

Section 5. Late Stone Age Europe and the Orient

The prehistoric traders

There are certain traders whose wares these Late Stone Age villagers inspect with eagerness. They come from the coast and they are already threading the Alpine passes leading northward from southern Europe — roads which are yet to become the great highways of the early world. These traders entertain the villagers of the European interior with the tales which circulate among the coast settlements, telling how huge ships (Fig. 14) — which make their own rude dugouts (Fig. 5) look like tiny chips — ply back and forth in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean. Such ships have many oarsmen on each side and mighty fir trunks mounted upright in the craft, carrying huge sheets of linen to catch the favoring wind which drives them swiftly, without oars, from land to land. They come out of the many mouths of the vast river of Egypt, greater than any river in the world, says the tale, and they bear crowded cargoes of beautiful stone vases, strings of shining blue-glazed beads (see cut, p. 16), bolts of fine linen, and, above all, axes and daggers of a strange, heavy, shining substance, for which these European villagers have no name. They listen with awe-struck faces and rapt attention; and in their traffic they desire above all else the new axes and daggers *of metal* which take a keener edge than any they can fashion of stone.

Ships of the Nile in the far-away East

The traders' oriental goods, especially their copper axes and daggers

Strings of Egyptian blue-glazed beads,[1] brought in by traders, wandered from hand to hand and people to people in western Europe; and we find them now lying in graves among the ornaments once worn by the men of the Late Stone or early Copper Age in England. In the East the people of a Late Stone Age village on the low hill in northwestern Asia Minor where later rose the walls of Troy (p. 117); likewise the people of another settlement of the same age near the north shore of the Island of Crete, yet to become the flourishing city of Cnossus (p. 120);

[1] Examples of these blue-glazed Egyptian beads discovered in prehistoric graves of England will be found in the drawing at the end of Chapter I (p. 16).

The King's Library

and other communities scattered through the Ægean islands,— these eastern people have even seen those marvelous ships of the Nile with their huge spars and wide sails and have trafficked with them on the seashore.

Stone Age Europe and the civilized Orient (3000 to 2000 B.C.)

Thus at the dawn of history, barbarian Europe looked across the Mediterranean to the great civilization of the Nile, as our own North American Indians fixed their wondering eyes on the first Europeans who landed in America and listened to like strange tales of great and distant peoples. But these Late Stone Age men had now (about 2500 B.C.) reached the limit of their resources. Without *writing* (for the records of business, government, and tradition); without *metals* (save the trader's copper ax and dagger); without stanch *ships* in which to develop commerce,— they could go no further. Perhaps the Late Stone Age villagers recalled a dim tradition of their fathers that grain and flax, cattle and sheep, first came to them from the same wonderland of the far East, whence now came the copper ax and the blue-glazed beads. It was after receiving such contributions as these from the Orient, that Europe went forward to the development of a higher civilization, and in order to understand the further course of European history, we must turn to the Orient whence came these things by which the life of our European ancestors entered upon a new epoch.

Summary

Let us remember as we go to the Orient that the age of man's *prehistoric* career[1] lasted some fifty thousand years, and that in the Orient he began to enter upon a high civilization in the *historic* epoch during the thousand years from 4000 to 3000 B.C. (in eastern Europe a thousand years later).[2] Civilization is thus between five and six thousand years old. It arose in the Orient, in the eastern Mediterranean region, and civilized supremacy both in peace and war shifted slowly from the Orient westward. It was not till about 500 B.C. that the Greeks became the leaders in matters of civilization. They, with the rest of the

1 That is, before he began to leave any written traces of his existence.
2 In western Europe not until after 500 B.C. or even much later.

Mediterranean world, were gradually subdued by the Romans, until Roman power was supreme and practically universal not long after 200 B.C. We have therefore first to trace the career of the Orient, and then to follow civilization as it developed among the Greeks and Romans.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 1. How did early man learn to do things? Was there any one to tell him? Describe the probable condition of the earliest men. What men have actually been found in a state almost as low as this? Describe their possessions. How long has man existed on earth? At what point can we begin to trace his progress?

SECTION 2. Describe man's earliest tools. How did he live, and what was Europe then like? What do we call this age? What great change brought it to an end?

SECTION 3. Where did man then take refuge? Describe his progress; his home. What art did he possess?

SECTION 4. When did the ice withdraw for the last time? What new treatment of his edged tools did man now discover? Make a list of his new possessions in this age. What remains and evidences of the existence of towns and communities still survive?

SECTION 5. What wares did the traders bring into the Late Stone Age settlements of inland Europe? How were they brought across the Mediterranean? What great people already had ships? Where did high civilization first arise?

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF EGYPT

Section 6. Egypt and its Earliest Inhabitants

Egypt of to-day

The traveler who visits Egypt at the present day lands in a very modern looking harbor at Alexandria. He is presently seated in a comfortable railway car in which we may accompany him as he is carried rapidly across a low flat country, stretching far away to the sunlit horizon. The wide expanse is dotted with little villages of dark, mud-brick huts, and here and there rise groves of graceful palms. The landscape is carpeted with stretches of bright and vivid green as far as the eye can see, and wandering through this verdure is a network of irrigation canals (Fig. 10). Brown-skinned men of slender build, with dark hair, are seen at intervals along the banks of these canals, swaying up and down, keeping time with the song they sing, as they lift an irrigation bucket attached to a simple device (Fig. 9), exactly like the "well sweep" of our grandfathers in New England. It is kept going day and night, as one man relieves another, and the irrigation trenches, branching all over the field, are thus kept full of water for about a hundred days until the grain ripens. It is the best of evidence that Egypt enjoys no rain.

Its soil and area

The black soil we see from the train is unexcelled in fertility, and it is enriched each year by the overflow of the river, whose roily waters rise above its banks every summer, spread far over the flats (Fig. 10), and stand there long enough to deposit a very thin layer of rich earthy sediment. All this plain over which the train moves southward consists of such sediment, which the river has brought down from its sources far away in Africa. In the course of ages it has filled up the ancient

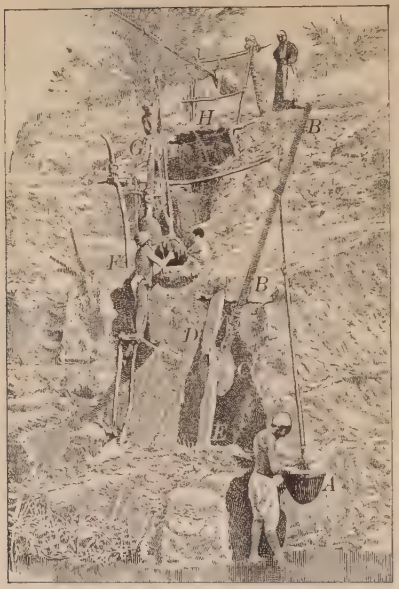


FIG. 9. AN EGYPTIAN *SHADOOF*, THE OLDEST OF WELL SWEEPS, IRRIGATING THE FIELDS

The man below stands in the water, holding his leather bucket (*A*). The pole (*B*) of the sweep is above him, with large ball of dried Nile mud on its lower end (*C*) as a lifting weight, or counterpoise, seen just behind the supporting post (*D*). This man lifts the water into a mud basin (*E*). A second man (in the middle) lifts it from this first basin (*E*) to a second basin (*F*) into which he is just emptying his bucket; while a third man (*G*) lifts the water from the middle basin (*F*) to the uppermost basin (*H*) on the top of the bank, where it runs off to the left into trenches spreading over the fields. The low water makes necessary three successive lifts (to *E*, to *F*, to *H*) without ceasing night and day for one hundred days

triangular gulf of the Mediterranean which we call the Delta, and which we are now crossing. Lying with its point to the south, this Delta is connected with the Nile valley beyond as a flower is attached to its stem, the Delta being the flower and the long valley on the south the stem (see map, p. 56). The Delta and the valley together as far as the First Cataract contain over ten thousand square miles of cultivable soil, or somewhat more than the state of Vermont.

As our train approaches the southern point of the Delta, about a hundred and twenty-five miles from the sea, we begin to see the heights on either side of the valley with which the narrow end of the Delta joins. These heights (Figs. 10, 29) are the plateau of the Sahara Desert through which the Nile has cut

a vast, deep trench as it winds its way northward from inner Africa. This trench, or valley, is seldom more than thirty miles wide, while the strip of soil on each side of the river rarely exceeds ten miles in width. On either edge of the soil strip, one steps out of the green fields into the sand of the desert, which has drifted into the trench; or if one climbs the cliffs forming the walls of the trench, he stands looking out over a vast waste of rocky hills and stretches of sand trembling in the heat of the blazing sunshine, which flames far across the desert. Then one realizes that Egypt is simply a low, narrow, winding line of green (see map, p. 56), watered by the Nile, in the midst of a rainless desert plateau which looks down upon it from either side.

FIG. 10. VIEW ACROSS THE NILE VALLEY FROM THE TOP OF THE GREAT PYRAMID

Our point of view is from an elevation on the plateau of the western (Sahara) desert, looking eastward to the corresponding cliffs, or heights (p. 19), which limit the great trench of the Nile valley on the other (east) side. At the left (north) expands the vast plain of the Delta (p. 18). We can see the irrigation canals below, and nearer, just along the margin of the desert, once stretched the royal city of the kings buried in the pyramids of Gizeh (Plate I)

As we journey on let us realize also that this valley can tell an unbroken story of human progress such as we can find nowhere else. The earliest chapter of the story must be sought in the oldest cemeteries in the world. We look out upon the sandy

The Stone Age Egyptians

margin of the desert where it rolls in thousands of low mounds, covering the graves of the earliest ancestors of the brown men we see in the Delta fields. When we have dug out such a grave to the bottom we find the ancient Nile peasant lying there, surrounded by pottery jars and stone implements (Fig. 11). There he has been lying for over six thousand years, and the stone tools which he used so long ago tell us that he lived all his life without having known anything about metal. Occasional grains of wheat, barley, or millet, however, show that his women were already cultivating grain — the grain that later passed to Europe (p. 12). A fragment of linen in such a grave shows us also where Europe derived its flax. The peasant at the bottom of this grave was therefore watering his fields of flax and grain down on the fertile soil of the valley over six thousand years ago, just as the brown men whom the traveler sees from the car windows to-day are still doing.

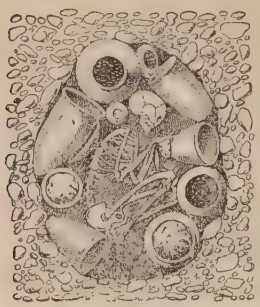


FIG 11. LOOKING DOWN INTO THE GRAVE OF A LATE STONE AGE EGYPTIAN

An oval pit four or five feet deep, excavated on the margin of the desert. The body is surrounded by pottery jars once containing food and drink for the life hereafter. Pieces of metal were beginning to appear with the implements of stone found in the grave

The villages of low mud-brick huts which flash by the car windows furnish us also with an exact picture of those vanished prehistoric villages,

Earliest government and taxes

the homes of the early Nile dwellers who are still lying in yonder cemeteries on the desert margin. In such a village, six to seven thousand years ago, lived the local chieftain who controlled the irrigation canal trenches of the district. To him the peasant was required to carry every season a share of the grain and flax which he gathered from his field; otherwise the supply of water for his crops would stop, and he would

receive an unpleasant visit from the chieftain, demanding instant payment. These were the earliest taxes. Such transactions led to scratching a number of strokes on the mud wall of the peasant's hut, indicating the number of measures of grain he had paid. At length a rude picture of the basket grain-measure was also scratched there, to make it clear to what the strokes referred. In this and many other ways the peasant's dealings with his neighbors or with the chieftain led him to make picture records (Fig. 12), and these are the earliest writing known.

FIG. 12. EXAMPLE OF THE EARLIEST-KNOWN EGYPTIAN WRITING

Interpretation—above, the falcon (symbol of a king) leading a human head by a cord; behind the head, six lotus leaves (each the sign for 1000) growing out of the ground to which the head is attached; below, a single-barbed harpoon head and a little rectangle (the sign of a lake). The whole tells the picture story that the falcon king led captive six thousand men of the land of the Harpoon Lake

Gradually each picture which he employed came to have a fixed form, and each picture always indicated the same word. Let us imagine for convenience that "Egyptian" contained the English word "leaf." It would be written thus: . The Egyptian would in course of time come to look upon the leaf as the sign for the syllable "leaf," wherever it might occur. By the same process might become the sign for the syllable "bee" wherever found. Having thus a means of writing the syllables "bee" and "leaf," the next step was to put them together thus, , and they would together represent the word "belief." Notice, however, that in the word "belief" the sign has ceased to suggest the idea of a bee but only the *syllable* "be." That is to say, has become a *phonetic* sign. In this way early man could write many names of things of which you cannot make a picture. It is impossible to make a picture of "belief," as you can of a jar or a knife.

Advantage of phonetic signs

If the writing of the Egyptian had remained merely a series of pictures, such words as "belief," "hate," "love," "beauty," and the like could never have been written.[1] But when a large number of his pictures had become phonetic signs, each representing a syllable, it was possible for the Egyptian to write any word he knew, whether the word meant a thing of which he could draw a picture or not. This possession of *phonetic* signs is what makes real writing for the first time. It arose among these Nile dwellers earlier than anywhere else in the ancient world. Indeed, the Egyptian went still further, for he finally possessed a series of signs, each representing only *one* letter, that is, *alphabetic* signs, or, as *we* say, real letters. There were twenty-four letters in this alphabet, which was known in Egypt long before 3000 B.C. It was thus the earliest alphabet known.

The earliest alphabet

Invention of writing materials

Ink

Pen

Paper

The inconvenience of scratching this writing on mud walls, pieces of bone, or broken pottery soon led the Egyptian to a more practical equipment for writing. He found out that he could make an excellent paint or ink by thickening water with a little vegetable gum, and then mixing in a little soot from the blackened pots over his fire. Dipping a pointed reed into this mixture he found he could write very well. He had also learned that he could split a kind of river reed, called *papyrus*, into thin strips, and that when these were dried he could write on them much better than on the bits of pottery, bone, and wood which he had thus far used. Desiring a larger sheet on which to write, the Egyptian hit upon the idea of pasting his papyrus strips together with overlapping edges. This gave him a thin sheet. Then by pasting two such sheets together, back to back with the grain crossing at right angles, he produced a smooth, tough, pale yellow paper. The Egyptian had thus made the discovery that a thin vegetable membrane offers the most practical surface on which to write, and the world has since discovered nothing better. In this way arose pen, ink, and paper

[1] See the word "beauty," the last three signs in the inscription over the ship (Fig. 14).

(see Fig. 16). All three of these devices have descended to us from the Egyptians, and paper still bears its ancient name, "papyros,"[1] but slightly changed.

The invention of writing and of a convenient system of records on paper has had a greater influence in uplifting the human race than any other intellectual achievement in the career of man. It was more important than all the battles ever fought and all the methods of government ever invented. As a result of it the early Egyptian peasants, now lying in the thickly clustered graves on the margin of the desert, went rapidly forward to new achievements in civilization.

Beginnings of a calendar

They had early found it necessary to measure time, for the peasant needed to know when he ought to go into the town for the next religious feast, or how many days still remained before he must pay his neighbor the grain he borrowed last year. Like all other early peoples he found the time from new moon to new moon a very convenient rough measure. If he agreed to pay the grain he borrowed in nine moons and eight of them had passed, he knew that he had one more moon in which to make the payment. But the moon-month varies in length from twenty-nine to thirty days, and it does not evenly divide the year. The Egyptian scribe early discovered this inconvenience, and soon showed himself much more practical in this respect than his neighbors in other lands.

Egyptian invention of our calendar, 4241 B.C.

He decided to use the moon no longer for dividing his year. He would have twelve months and he would make his months all of the same length, that is, thirty days each; then he would celebrate five feast days, a kind of holiday week five days long, at the end of the year. This gave him a year of 365 days. He was not yet enough of an astronomer to know that every four years he ought to have a leap year, of 366 days, although he

[1] The change from "papyros" to "paper" is really a very slight one. For *os* is merely the Greek grammatical ending, which must be omitted in English. This leaves us *papyr* as the ancestor of our word "paper," from which it differs by only one letter. On the other Greek word for "papyrus," from which came our word "Bible," see page 140.

discovered this fact later (p. 236). This convenient Egyptian calendar was devised in 4241 B.C., and its introduction is the earliest-dated event in history. Furthermore, it is the very calendar which has descended to us, after more than six thousand years — unfortunately with awkward alterations in the lengths of the months; but for these alterations the Egyptians were not responsible (see p. 268).

Discovery of metal (at least 4000 B.C.)

It was probably in the Peninsula of Sinai (see map, p. 56) that some Egyptian wandering thither, once banked his camp fire with pieces of copper ore lying on the ground about the camp. The charcoal of his wood fire mingled with the hot fragments of ore piled around to shield the fire, and thus the ore was "reduced" as the miner says; that is, the copper in metallic form was released from the dark recesses of the lumps of ore. Next morning as the Egyptian stirs the embers, he discovers a few glittering globules, now hardened into beads of metal. He draws them forth and turns them admiringly as they glitter in the morning sunshine. Before long, as the experience is repeated, he discovers whence these strange shining beads have come. He produces more of them, at first only to be worn as ornaments by his women, then to be cast into a blade and to replace the flint knife which he carries in his girdle.

The dawning of the Age of Metal

Without knowing it this man stands at the dawning of a new era, the Age of Metal; and the little disk of shining copper which he draws from the ashes, if this Egyptian wanderer could but see it, might reflect to him a vision of steel buildings, Brooklyn bridges, huge factories roaring with the noise of thousands of machines of metal, and vast stretches of steel roads along which thunder hosts of rushing locomotives. For these things of our modern world, and all they signify, would never have come to pass but for the little bead of metal which the Egyptian held in his hand for the first time on that eventful day so long ago. Since the discovery of fire over fifty thousand years earlier (p. 3) man had made no conquest of the things of the earth which could compare with this in importance.

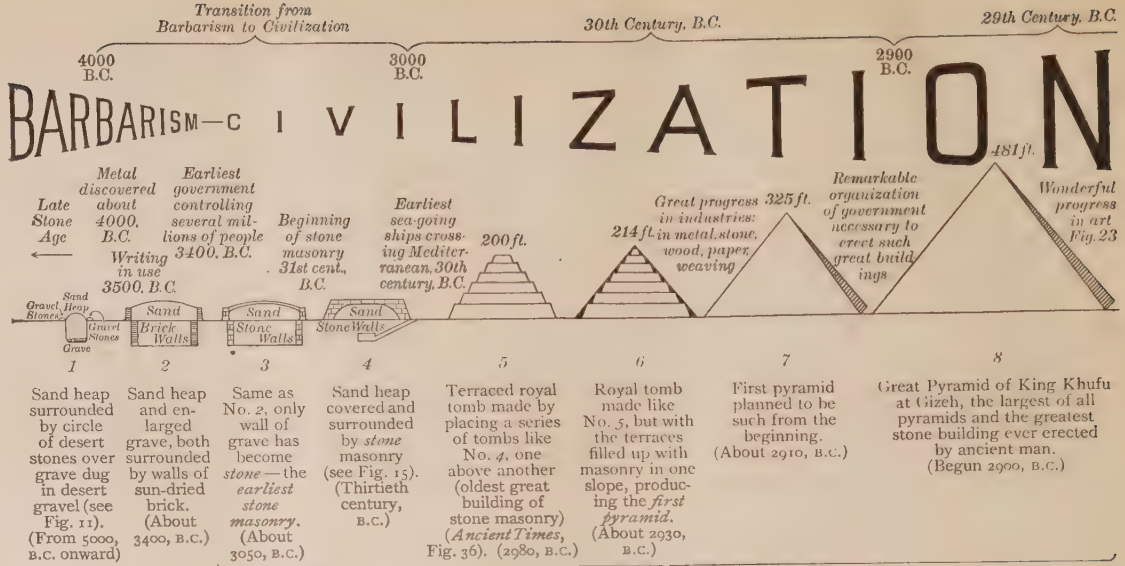

Transition from Barbarism to Civilization
30th Century, B.C.
29th Century, B.C.
4000 B.C.
3000 B.C.
2900 B.C.
BARBARISM—CIVILIZATION
Late Stone Age
Writing in use 3500, B.C.
Metal discovered about 4000, B.C.
Earliest government controlling several millions of people 3400, B.C.
Beginning of stone masonry 31st cent., B.C.
Earliest sea-going ships crossing Mediterranean, 30th century, B.C.
200 ft.
214 ft.
Great progress in industries: metal, stone, wood, paper, weaving
325 ft.
Remarkable organization of government necessary to erect such great buildings
481 ft.
Wonderful progress in art Fig. 23
Sand
Gravel
Heap
Stones
Grave
Brick Walls
Stone Walls
Stone Walls
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Sand heap surrounded by circle of desert stones over grave dug in desert gravel (see Fig. 11). (From 5000, B.C. onward)
Sand heap and enlarged grave, both surrounded by walls of sun-dried brick. (About 3400, B.C.)
Same as No. 2, only wall of grave has become stone — the earliest stone masonry. (About 3050, B.C.)
Sand heap covered and surrounded by stone masonry (see Fig. 15). (Thirtieth century, B.C.)
Terraced royal tomb made by placing a series of tombs like No. 4, one above another (oldest great building of stone masonry) (Ancient Times, Fig. 36). (2980, B.C.)
Royal tomb made like No. 5, but with the terraces filled up with masonry in one slope, producing the first pyramid. (About 2930, B.C.)
First pyramid planned to be such from the beginning. (About 2910, B.C.)
Great Pyramid of King Khufu at Gizeh, the largest of all pyramids and the greatest stone building ever erected by ancient man. (Begun 2900, B.C.)
At most 150 years
(from earliest stone masonry to the Great Pyramid)

FIG. 13. THE EVOLUTION FROM THE SAND HEAP TO THE PYRAMID IN TWO THOUSAND YEARS, AND THE RISE OF STONE ARCHITECTURE IN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS

(See full explanation in *Ancient Times*, p. 55)

The Nile a vast historical volume

At this point we realize that we have followed early man out of the Stone Age (where we left him in Europe) into a civilization possessed of metal, writing, and government. We begin to see that dry and rainless Egypt furnishes the conditions for the preservation of such plentiful remains of early man as to make this valley an enormous storehouse of his ancient works and records. These are the only link connecting prehistoric man with the historic age of written documents, which we are now to study, as we make the voyage up the Nile and learn to read the monuments along the great river like a vast historical volume, whose pages will tell us age after age the fascinating story of ancient man and all that he achieved here so many thousands of years ago. The wonderful achievements of the *earliest* Egyptians we have recalled as we journeyed across the Delta; but now as the journey up the river proceeds we shall be able to watch the continuous progress of the Egyptian in the long centuries after his discovery of metals and writing.

The first glimpse of the pyramids

Such are the thoughts which occupy the mind of the well-informed traveler as his train carries him southward across the Delta. Perhaps he is pondering on the possible results which the Egyptians would achieve as he sees them in imagination throwing away their flint chisels and replacing them with those of copper. The train rounds a bend, and through an opening in the palms the traveler is fairly blinded by a burst of blazing sunshine from the western desert, in the midst of which he discovers a group of noble pyramids rising above the glare of the sands. It is his first glimpse of the great pyramids of Gizeh, and it tells him better than any printed page what the Egyptian builder with the copper chisel in his hand could do. A few minutes later his train is moving among the modern buildings of Cairo, and the very next day will surely find him taking the seven-mile drive from Cairo out to Gizeh.

Section 7. The Pyramid Age

The pyramids as royal tombs

No traveler ever forgets the first drive to the Pyramids of Gizeh, as he sees their giant forms rising higher and higher above the crest of the western desert (Plate I). A thousand questions arise in the visitor's mind. He has read that these vast buildings he is approaching are tombs, in which the kings of Egypt were buried. Such mighty buildings reveal many things about the men who built them. In the first place, these tombs show that the Egyptians believed in a life after death and that to obtain such life it was necessary to preserve the body from destruction. They built these tombs to shelter and protect the body after death. Hence, also, came the practice of "embalmment" by which the body was preserved as a mummy (Fig. 32). It was then placed in the great tomb, in a small but massive room deep in the heart of the pyramid masonry. Other tombs of masonry, much smaller in size, cluster about the pyramids in great numbers (Frontispiece). Here were buried the relatives of the king, and the great men of his court, who assisted him in the government of the land (Fig. 15).

The gods of Egypt: Re and Osiris

These people had many gods, but there were two whom they worshiped above all others. The Sun, which shines so gloriously in the cloudless Egyptian sky, was their greatest god, and their most splendid temples were erected for his worship. Indeed, the pyramid is a symbol sacred to the Sun-god. They called him Re (pron. *ray*). The other great power which they revered as a god was likewise a visible force in their daily lives. The shining Nile which the traveler has just crossed on his way to the pyramids gives life to the fields and brings forth the harvest. So the Nile, and the fertile soil he refreshes, and the green life which he brings forth — all these the Egyptian thought of together as a single god, Osiris, the imperishable life of the earth which revives and fades every year with the changes of the seasons. It was a beautiful thought to the Egyptian that this

same life-giving power which furnished him his food in *this* world would care for him also in the *next*, when his body lay out yonder in the great cemetery which we are approaching.

The progress of the Egyptians before they built stone masonry

But this vast cemetery of Gizeh tells us of many other things besides the religion of the Egyptians. As we look up at the colossal pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) we can hardly grasp the fact of the enormous stride forward which the Egyptians have taken since the days when they used to be buried with their flint knives in a pit scooped out on the margin of the desert (Fig. 11). It is the use of metal which has since then carried them so far. That Egyptian in Sinai who noticed the first bit of metal (p. 24) lived over a thousand years before these pyramids were built. He was buried in a pit like that of the earliest Egyptian peasant (Fig. 11).

It was a long time before his discovery of metal resulted in copper tools which made possible great architecture in stone. Not more than a hundred and fifty years before the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, the Egyptians were still building the tombs of their kings of sun-baked brick. Such a royal tomb was merely a chamber in the ground, roofed with wood (Fig. 13, *1*).

From the earliest stone masonry to the Great Pyramid — a century and a half

Then some skillful workman among them found out that he could use his copper tools to cut square blocks of limestone and line the chamber with these blocks in place of the soft bricks. This was the first piece of *stone* masonry ever put together in so far as we know (Fig. 13, *2*). It was built not long before 3000 B.C., and less than a century and a half later, that is, by 2900 B.C., the king's architect was building the Great Pyramid of Gizeh (Fig. 13, *6*). What a contrast between the sun-baked brick chamber and the Great Pyramid of Gizeh only a century and a half later! Most of this progress was made during the thirtieth century B.C.; that is, between 3000 and 2900 B.C. (Fig. 13). Such rapid progress in control of mechanical power can be found in no other period of the world's history until the nineteenth century, which closed not long before many of the readers of this book were born.

The vast size of the Great Pyramid

It helps us to grasp the extent of the Egyptian's progress when we know that the Great Pyramid covers thirteen acres. It is a solid mass of masonry containing 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, each weighing on an average two and a half tons; that is, each block is as heavy as an ordinary wagon load of coal. The sides of the pyramid at the base are 755 feet long; that is, about a block and three quarters (counting twelve city blocks to a mile), and the building was nearly five hundred feet high. An ancient story tells us that a hundred thousand men were working on this royal tomb for twenty years, and we can well believe it (see Plate I).

Government in the Pyramid Age

We can also learn much about the progress of the Egyptian in government from this cemetery of Gizeh. We perceive at once that it must have required a very skillful ruler and a great body of officials to manage and to feed a hundred thousand workmen around this great building. The king who controlled such vast undertakings was no longer a local chieftain (p. 20), but he now ruled all Egypt. He was so reverenced that the people did not mention the king by name, but instead they spoke of the palace in which he lived; that is, the "Great House," or, in Egyptian, "Pharaoh."[1] He had his *local* officials collecting taxes all over Egypt. They were also trying cases at law wherever they arose, and every judge had before him the written law which bade him judge justly. A large office with its corps of officials was also keeping the irrigation canals (Fig. 10) in order.

The treasury and the royal city

The king's huge *central* offices occupying low sun-baked brick buildings sheltered an army of clerks with their reed pens and their rolls of papyrus (p. 22), keeping the king's records and accounts. The tax payments received from the people here were not in money, for coined money did not yet exist. Such payments were made in produce: grain, livestock, wine, honey, linen, and the like. With the exception of the cattle, these had to be stored in granaries and storehouses, a vast group of which

[1] This word is a title, not the name of any particular king.

formed the treasury of the king. The villas (Fig. 21) of the officials who assisted the king in all this business of government, with their gardens, formed a large part of the royal city.

The greatest quarter, however, was occupied by the palace of the king and the luxurious parks and gardens which surrounded it. Thus the palace and its grounds, the official villas, and offices of the government made up the capital of Egypt, the royal city which extended along the foot of the pyramid cemetery and

FIG. 14. EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A SEAGOING SHIP (TWENTY-EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

The people are all bowing to the king whose figure (now lost) stood on shore (at the left), and they salute him with the words written in a line of hieroglyphs above, meaning: "Hail to thee! O Sahure [the king's name], thou god of the living! We behold thy beauty." Some of these men are bearded Phœnician prisoners, showing that this Egyptian ship has crossed the east end of the Mediterranean and returned. The big double mast is unshipped and lies on supports rising by the three steering oars in the stern

stretched far away over the plain, of which there is a fine view from the summit of the pyramid (Fig. 10). But the city was all built of sun-baked brick and wood, and it has therefore vanished.

Length and date of the Pyramid Age

The city of the dead, the pyramids and the tombs clustering around them, being built of stone, have fortunately proved more durable and they have much to tell us still. The weary climb to the summit of the Great Pyramid (Fig. 10) gives us a view southward, down a straggling but imposing line of pyramids rising dimly as far as we can see on the southern horizon. The line is over sixty miles long, and its oldest pyramids represent the

first great age of Egyptian civilization after the land was united under one king.[1] We may call it the Pyramid Age and it lasted about five hundred years, from 3000 to 2500 B.C. It was an age of great prosperity and splendor. Otherwise it would have been impossible to erect buildings of such grandeur as these in the Gizeh cemetery.

In the Pyramid Age the Pharaoh was powerful enough to seek wealth beyond the boundaries of Egypt. A few surviving blocks

FIG. 15. RESTORATION OF A GROUP OF TOMBS OF THE NOBLES IN THE PYRAMID AGE

These tombs are grouped about the royal pyramids, as seen in Plate I. They are sometimes of vast size. The square openings in the top are shafts leading down to the burial chambers in the native rock far below the tomb structures. These structures are solid except for a chapel in the east side, of which the door can be seen in the front of each tomb. The reliefs in Figs. 16–20 adorn the inside walls of these chapels

Northern commerce and earliest seagoing ships

from a fallen pyramid-temple (Fig. 22) south of Gizeh bear carved and painted reliefs (Fig. 14) showing us the ships which he dared to send beyond the shelter of the Nile mouths far across the end of the Mediterranean to the coast of Phœnicia (see map, p. 56). This was in the middle of the twenty-eighth century B.C., and

[1] Before this, little kingdoms scattered up and down the valley had long existed but were finally united into one kingdom, under a single king. The first king to establish this union permanently was Menes, who united Egypt under his rule about 3400 B.C. But it was four centuries or more after Menes that the united kingdom became powerful and wealthy enough to build these royal pyramid-tombs, marking for us the first great age of Egyptian civilization.

this relief (Fig. 14) contains the oldest-known representation of a seagoing ship. Yet the Pharaoh had already been carrying on such over-sea commerce for centuries at this time, and an ancient record tells us that he sent forty ships to Phœnicia to bring back cedar of Lebanon in the middle of the thirtieth century B.C., two centuries before our earliest picture of such an ancient salt-water vessel. These are the ships which carried metal and other products of civilization to the peoples who lived on the Mediterranean shores of Europe in the Late Stone Age (p. 14).

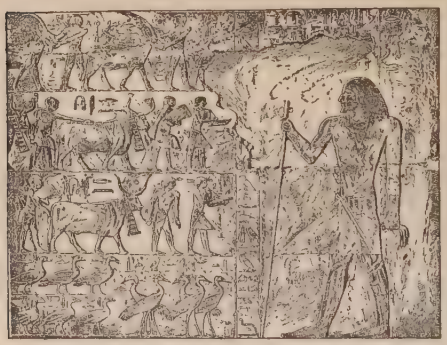


FIG. 16. RELIEF SCENE FROM THE CHAPEL OF A NOBLE'S TOMB (FIG. 15) IN THE PYRAMID AGE

The tall figure of the noble stands at the right. A piece has fallen out of the wall, immediately before his face and figure. He is inspecting three rows of cattle and a row of fowl brought before him. Note the two scribes who head the two middle rows. Each is writing with pen on a sheet of papyrus, and one carries two pens behind his ear. Such reliefs after being carved were colored in bright hues by the painter (see p. 33)

The king was also already sending caravans of donkeys far up the Nile into the Sudan to traffic with the blacks of the south, and to bring back ebony, ivory, ostrich feathers, and fragrant gums. The officials who conducted these caravans were the earliest explorers of inner Africa, and in their tombs at the First Cataract they have left interesting records of their exciting adventures among the wild tribes of the south — adventures in which some of them lost their lives.[1] Expeditions to the south

[1] The teacher will find it of interest to read these records to the class. See Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I, pp. 325–336, 350–374.

end of the Red Sea to procure the same products early led to the excavation of a canal connecting the easternmost Nile branch in the Delta with the Red Sea. This predecessor of the Suez Canal was dug about 4000 years ago.

The tomb-chapels of the Pyramid Age; the life they reveal

A stroll among the tombs clustering so thickly around the pyramids of Gizeh is almost like a walk among the busy communities which flourished in this populous valley in the days of the pyramid builders. We find the door of every tomb standing open (Fig. 15), and there is nothing to prevent our entrance. We stand in an oblong room with walls of stone masonry. This is a

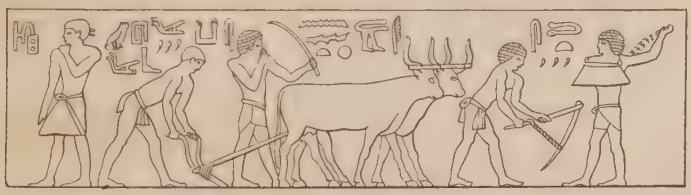


FIG. 17. PLOWING AND SOWING IN THE PYRAMID AGE

There are two plowmen, one driving the oxen and one holding the plow. The man with the curious hoe breaks up the clods left by the plow, and in front of him is the sower, scattering the seed from the sack he carries before him. At the left is a scribe of the estate. The hieroglyphs above in all such scenes explain what is going on. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 15)

chapel-chamber to which the Egyptian believed the dead man buried beneath the tomb might return every day. Here he would find food and drink left for him daily by his relatives. He would also find the stone walls of this room covered from floor to ceiling with carved scenes, beautifully painted, picturing the daily life on the great estate of which he was lord (Figs. 16–20). The place is now silent and deserted, or if we hear the voices of the donkey boys talking outside, they are speaking Arabic; for the ancient language of the men who built these tombs so many thousand years ago is no longer spoken. But everywhere, in bright and charming colors, we see looking down

upon us from these walls the life which these men of nearly five thousand years ago actually lived.

Agriculture and cattle-raising; beasts of burden

Dominating all these scenes on the walls is the tall form of the noble (Fig. 16), the lord of the estate, as he stands looking out over his fields and inspecting the work going on there. These fields where the oxen draw the plow, and the sowers scatter the seed (Fig. 17), are the oldest scene of agriculture known to us. Here too are the herds, long lines of sleek fat cattle grazing in the pasture, while the milch cows are led up and tied to be milked (Figs. 16, 18). These cattle are also beasts of burden; we have noticed the oxen drawing the plow. But we find no horses in these tombs of the Pyramid Age, for the horse was then unknown to the Egyptian, but the donkey is everywhere, and it would be impossible to harvest the grain without him (Fig. 19).

FIG. 18. PEASANT MILKING IN THE PYRAMID AGE

The cow is restive and the ancient cowherd has tied her hind legs. Behind her another man is holding her calf, which rears and plunges in the effort to reach the milk. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 15)

The coppersmith and the appearance of bronze

On the next wall we find again the tall figure of the noble overseeing the booths and yards where toil the craftsmen of his estate. We can almost hear the sounds of hammer and anvil and the hum of industry as we look here upon these artisans of the early oriental world at their busy tasks. Yonder is the smith. He has never heard of his ancestor who picked up the first bead of copper probably over a thousand years earlier (p. 24). This man has made progress however. He is now able to harden his tools by the addition of a small amount of tin to the molten metal, which then cools into a much harder state than that of pure copper. We call this mixture bronze.[1] This harder metal

[1] The origin of bronze is probably natural. Professor J. L. Myres of Oxford informs me of the recent discovery of ore containing both copper and tin in the northern Mediterranean. The metal yielded by such ore would itself be bronze.

here in the Age of Copper gives the workman the same advantage obtained in the Age of Iron by the invention of steel.

The lapidary, goldsmith, and jeweler

On the same wall we see the lapidary holding up for the noble's admiration splendid stone bowls, cut from diorite, a stone as hard as steel. Nevertheless the bowl is ground to such thinness that the sunlight glows through its dark gray sides. Other workmen are cutting and grinding tiny pieces of beautiful blue turquoise. These pieces they inlay with remarkable accuracy into recesses in the surface of a magnificent golden vase, just made ready by the goldsmith. The booth of the goldsmith is filled with workmen and apprentices, weighing gold and costly stones, hammering and casting, soldering and fitting together richly wrought jewelry[1] which can hardly be surpassed by the best goldsmiths and jewelers of to-day.

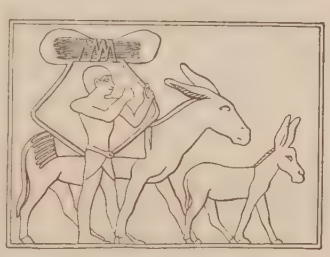


FIG. 19. DONKEY CARRYING A LOAD OF GRAIN SHEAVES IN THE PYRAMID AGE

The foal accompanies its mother while at work. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 15)

In the next space on this wall we find the potter no longer building up his jars and bowls with his fingers alone, as in the Stone Age. He now sits before a small horizontal *wheel*, which he keeps whirling with one hand. Upon this potter's wheel, the ancestor of the lathe, he deftly shapes the vessel as it whirls round and round under his fingers. When the soft clay vessels are ready, they are no longer unevenly burned in an open fire, as the Late Stone Age potter in the Swiss lake-villages managed it (Fig. 7); but here in the Egyptian potter's yard are long rows of closed furnaces of clay as

The potter's wheel and furnace; the earliest glass

[1] Among the marvelous works of the ancient Egyptian goldsmith one of the best pieces now surviving is a beautiful golden tiara in the form of a chaplet of flowers, found on the brow of an Egyptian princess just as it was put there in the Feudal Age nearly four thousand years ago. It may be seen drawn as resting on a cushion at the end of Chapter II (p. 55).

tall as a man, where the pottery is packed in, protected from the wind and evenly burned. These two inventions, the potter's wheel and the potter's furnace, were carried over to Stone Age Europe like many other contributions from the Orient. Indeed, we discover in the next booth also the source of those bright blue-glazed beads[1] which found their way from Egypt to far-off England in the Late Stone or early Bronze Age (p. 14). This is the earliest-known glass. The Egyptians were making it for centuries before the Pyramid Age. It was spread on tiles

FIG. 20. CABINETMAKERS IN THE PYRAMID AGE

At the left, a man is cutting with a chisel which he taps with a mallet; next, a man "rips" a board with a copper saw; next, two men are finishing off a couch, and at the right a man is drilling a hole with a bow-drill. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 15). Compare a finished chair belonging to a wealthy noble of the Empire (Fig. 33)

in gorgeous glazes for adorning house and palace walls, or wrought into exquisite many-colored glass bottles and vases, which were widely exported (Fig. 48).

The weavers and tapestry-makers

Yonder the weaving women draw forth from the loom a gossamer fabric of linen. The picture on this wall could not tell us of its fineness, but fortunately pieces of it have survived, wrapped around the mummy of a king of this age. These specimens of royal linen are so fine that it requires a magnifying glass to distinguish them from silk, and the best work of the modern *machine* loom is coarse in comparison with this fabric of the ancient

[1] The tailpiece of Chapter I (p. 16) shows blue- and green-glazed Egyptian beads found in prehistoric graves of England. Compare page 14.

Egyptian *hand* loom. At one loom there issues a lovely tapestry, for these weavers of Egypt furnished the earliest-known specimens of such work, to be hung on the walls of the Pharaoh's palace or stretched to shade the roof garden of the noble's villa.

Paper-makers

Into the back door of the next booth pass huge bundles of papyrus reeds, which we see barelegged men gathering along the edge of the Nile marsh. These reeds furnish piles of pale yellow paper in long sheets (p. 22). The ships which we have followed on the Mediterranean (p. 31) will yet add bales of this Nile paper to their cargoes, and carry it to the European world. For fifteen hundred years these papyrus booths along the Nile were the world's paper mills, until the libraries of wealthy Greeks and Romans (p. 140) were filled with papyrus books. Thus these papyrus marshes of the Nile were exhausted and the papyrus plant at last became extinct in Egypt. The modern traveler looks for it in vain as he journeys up the river.

Shipbuilders, carpenters, and cabinet-makers

We can easily imagine the hubbub of hammers and mauls as we approach the next section of wall, where we find the shipbuilders and cabinetmakers. Here is a long line of curving hulls, with workmen swarming over them like ants, fitting together the earliest seagoing ships (Fig. 14). Beside them are the busy cabinetmakers, fashioning luxurious furniture for the noble's villa. The finished chairs and couches for the king or the rich are overlaid with gold and silver, inlaid with ebony and ivory, and upholstered with soft leathern cushions (Figs. 20, 33). As we look back over these painted chapel walls, we see that the tombs of Gizeh have told us a very vivid story of how early men learned to make for themselves all the most important things they needed. We should notice how many more such things these men of the Nile could now make than the Stone Age men, who were living in the lake-villages of Europe (Fig. 5) at the very time these tomb-chapels were built.

It is easy to picture the bright sunny river in those ancient days, alive with boats and barges moving hither and thither, and often depicted on these walls, bearing the products of all

River commerce; the market place; traffic in goods; circulation of precious metal

these industries, to be carried to the treasury of the Pharaoh as taxes or to the market of the town for traffic. Here on the wall is the market place itself. We can watch the cobbler offering the baker a pair of sandals as payment for a cake, or the carpenter's wife giving the fisherman a little wooden box for a fish; while the potter's wife proffers the apothecary two bowls fresh from the potter's furnace in exchange for a jar of fragrant ointment. We see therefore that the people have *no coined money* to use, and that in the market place trade is actual exchange of goods. Such is the business of the common people. If we could see the large transactions in the palace, we would find there heavy rings of gold of a recognized weight, which circulated like money. Rings of copper also served the same purpose. Such rings were the forerunners of coin (p. 152).

Three classes of society in the Pyramid Age

These people in the gayly painted market place on the chapel wall are the common folk of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. Some of them were free men, following their own business or industry. Others were slaves working the fields on the great estates like the one which is pictured on these walls. Over both these humbler classes were the great officials of the Pharaoh's government, like the owner of this tomb whose tall form (Fig. 16) we find so often shown upon these chapel walls. We know many more of them by name, and a walk through this cemetery would enable us to make a directory of the wealthy quarter of the royal city under the kings who were buried in these pyramids of Gizeh. It would be a kind of social Blue Book of the capital of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. We know the grand viziers and the chief treasurers, the chief judges and the architects, the chamberlains and marshals of the palace, and so on. We can even visit the tomb of the architect who built the Great Pyramid of Gizeh for Khufu.

The noble of the Pyramid Age in his home

We can observe with what vast satisfaction these nobles and officials presided over this busy industrial and social life of the Nile valley in the Pyramid Age. Here on this chapel wall again we see its owner seated at ease in his palanquin, a luxurious

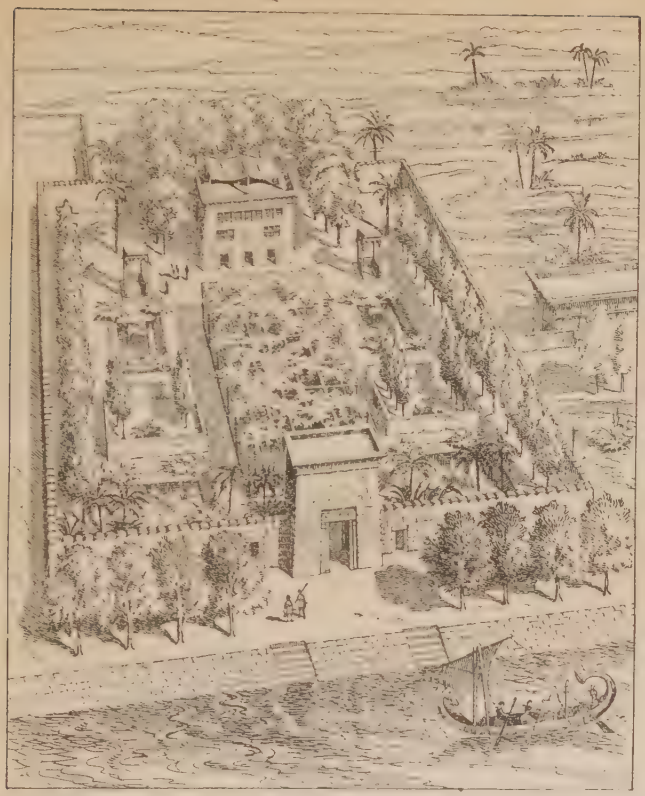


FIG. 21. VILLA OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE

The garden is inclosed with a high wall. There are pools on either side as one enters, and a long arbor extends down the middle. The house at the rear, embowered in trees, is crowned by a roof garden shaded with awnings of tapestry (see p. 37)

wheel-less carriage, borne upon the shoulders of slaves, as he returns from the inspection of his estate where we have been following him. As he is carried through the gate of his garden he retires into a seeming paradise (Fig. 21). The slaves set down the palanquin in the shade and their master steps out to

recline by the cool waters of the fishpool, where he watches the slow and stately dances of his women or the pranks of his children as they romp about the pool. The villa (Fig. 21) which peeps through the verdure is light and airy and gay with brightly

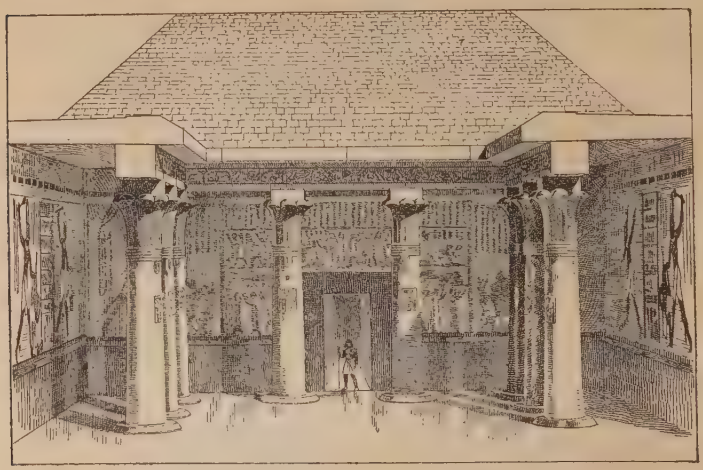


FIG. 22. COLONNADES IN THE COURT OF A PYRAMID-TEMPLE (TWENTY-EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

Notice the pyramid rising behind the temple (just as in Plate I also). The door in the middle leads to the holy place built against the side of the pyramid, where a false door in the pyramid masonry serves as the portal through which the king comes forth from the world of the dead into this beautiful temple to enjoy the food and drink placed here for him and to share in the splendid feasts celebrated here. The center of the court is open to the sky; the roof of the porch all around is supported on columns, the earliest known in the history of architecture. Each column reproduces a palm tree, the capital being the crown of foliage. The whole place was colored in the bright hues of nature, including the painting on the walls behind the columns. Among these paintings was the ship in Fig. 14

colored tapestry hangings. It is a work of art, bright in all its decorations with the beauty of the outdoor world which the Egyptian so much loved. His lady comes forth to greet him in a long closely fitting robe of spotless white linen. She is in every

FIG. 23. HEAD OF STATUE OF KING KHAFRE, BUILDER OF THE SECOND PYRAMID OF GIZEH (TWENTY-NINTH CENTURY B.C.)

The king wears a linen headdress, and a false beard hanging from his chin. A falcon, symbol of the king (see Fig. 12), hovers protectingly over his head. The material is diorite, a stone so intensely hard that no modern sculptor would try to use it. Found in Khafre's valley temple by the Sphinx at Gizeh (Plate I)

FIG. 24. THE COLOSSAL COLUMNS OF THE NAVE IN THE GREAT HALL OF KARNAK

These are the columns of the middle two rows in Fig. 28. The tiny human figures below show by contrast the vast dimensions of the columns towering above them (p. 46)

way his equal, his sole wife, his constant companion, enjoying every right possessed by her husband.

Art of the Pyramid Age — painting and relief

The Egyptians could not have left us this beautifully painted and sculptured room (the tomb-chapel) unless they had possessed trained artists. Indeed, we can find the artist who painted[1] these walls, where he has represented himself enjoying a plentiful feast among other people of the estate in one corner of the wall. Here he has written his name over his head, and we read in handsome hieroglyphs, "Nenekheptah, the artist." His drawings all around us show that he has not been able to overcome all the difficulties of placing objects having thickness and roundness on a flat surface. Animal figures are drawn, however, with great beauty and lifelikeness (Figs. 16–20), but "perspective" is entirely unknown to him, and objects in the background or distance are drawn of the same size as those in front.

Art of the Pyramid Age — portrait sculpture

The sculptor was the greatest artist of this age. In a secret chamber alongside this chapel there is a portrait statue of the dead lord whose tomb we have visited. A multitude of these statues have been found in this cemetery. They were thought to furnish the dead with an additional body, in case the mummied body should perish. These are the earliest portraits in the history of art. They were colored in the hues of life; the eyes were inlaid of rock crystal, and they still shine with the gleam of life. More lifelike portraits have never been produced by any age. Such statues of the kings are often superb (Fig. 23). They were set up in the temples which the Pharaoh erected. In size, the most remarkable statue of the Pyramid Age is the Great Sphinx, which stands here in this cemetery of Gizeh. The head is a portrait of Khafre, the king who built the second pyramid of Gizeh (see Plate I), and was carved from a promontory of rock which overlooked the royal city. It is the largest portrait ever wrought.[2]

1 Wonderfully colored ducks and geese from an Egyptian tomb painting of the Pyramid Age will be found as headpiece of Chapter II (p. 17).

2 The art of the age of course also included architecture. Its most important achievement in the Pyramid Age was the colonnade, of which a good example will be found in the court of a pyramid-temple in Fig. 22.

Section 8. The Feudal Age

The Nile voyage and the tombs of the Feudal Age

Probably there is no journey more interesting than the voyage up the Nile with all its revelations of the story of the Nile dwellers. As the river swings from cliff to cliff the steamer in which the traveler leaves Cairo is carried under many a tomb door cut in the face of the cliff and giving entrance to a tomb excavated in the rock (Fig. 25). Here are the tombs of the nobles of some 2000 B.C. Their ancestors were officials of the Pharaohs in the Pyramid Age. But the nobles who made these later tombs have succeeded in gaining greater power than their ancestors. They no longer live at the court of the king, nor build their tombs around the pyramid of the Pharaoh. They are barons holding large estates, which they bequeath to their sons, and the Pharaoh has only a very loose control over them, by arrangements which in later ages are called feudal (Chapter XVI). We therefore call this the Feudal Age, in Egyptian history. It lasted for several centuries and was flourishing by 2000 B.C.

The kindly rule of the feudal barons; their libraries

These feudal barons ruled the people on their great domains with much kindness. The age made great progress in the realm of conduct and kindly treatment of one's neighbors and especially of those over whom one had power (Fig. 25). In the story of man we find here the earliest chapter in human kindness. The evidence for it is not lacking in the cemetery, but in the Feudal Age our story is not drawn from the tomb records only, as in the Pyramid Age. Fortunately fragments from the libraries of these feudal barons — the oldest libraries in the world — have been discovered in their tombs. These oldest of all books are in the form of rolls of papyrus which once were packed in jars, neatly labeled and ranged in rows on the noble's library shelves. Here are the oldest storybooks in the world: tales of wanderings and adventures in Asia; tales of shipwreck at the gate of the unknown ocean beyond the Red Sea — the earliest Sindbad the Sailor; and tales of wonders wrought by ancient wise men and magicians.

Some of these stories set forth the sufferings of the poor and the humble and seek to stir the rulers to just and kind treatment of the weaker classes. Some picture the wickedness

Books on kindness and justice

FIG. 25. CLIFF-TOMB OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE FEUDAL AGE

The chapel entered through this door contains painted reliefs like those of the Pyramid Age (Figs. 16–20) and also many written records. In this chapel the noble tells of his kind treatment of his people; he says: "There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused; there was no widow whom I oppressed; there was no peasant whom I evicted; there was no shepherd whom I expelled; . . . there was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came I plowed all the fields of the Oryx barony [his estate] . . . preserving its people alive and furnishing its food so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as to her who had a husband; I did not exalt the great above the humble in anything that I gave" (p. 44)

of men and the hopelessness of the future. Others tell of a righteous ruler who is yet to come, a "good shepherd" they call him, meaning a good king who shall bring in justice and

happiness for all. We notice here a contrast with the Pyramid Age. With the in-coming of the pyramid-builders we saw a tremendous growth in power, in building, and in art; but the Feudal Age reveals progress in a higher realm, that of conduct and character (see description under Fig. 25).

Books of science

Very few rolls were needed to contain the science of this time. The largest and the most valuable roll of all contains what they had learned about medicine and the organs of the human body. This oldest medical book when unrolled is about sixty-six feet long and has recipes for all sorts of ailments. Some of them call for remedies, like castor oil, which are still in common use; many represent the ailment as due to demons, which were long believed to be the cause of disease. Other rolls contain the simpler rules of arithmetic, geometry, and elementary algebra. Even observations of the heavenly bodies with crude instruments were made; but these records, like those in geography, have been lost.

Section 9. The Empire

The Nile voyage — arrival at Thebes

As we continue our Nile journey southward, the course of the river swings sharply eastward toward the Red Sea, and we round a great bend in the stream (see map, p. 56). All at once, as we look toward the east bank through the thick palm groves, we catch glimpses of vast masses of stone masonry and lines of tall columns. They are the ruins of the once great city of Thebes. Our voyage up the river has now carried us through many centuries. The monuments along its banks have told us the story of two of the three periods[1] into which the career of this great people of the Nile falls. At Thebes we reach the Empire, the third of those periods.

A walk around the temple of Karnak[2] here is as instructive for this period as we have found the Gizeh cemetery to be for

[1] These three ages are (1) Pyramid Age, about 3000 to 2500 B.C. (section 7); (2) Feudal Age, flourishing 2000 B.C. (section 8); (3) The Empire, about 1580 to 1150 B.C. (section 9).

[2] Karnak is a tiny modern village by the greatest temple at Thebes.

the Pyramid Age. As we pass along the north wall of this vast temple we find it covered with enormous sculptures in relief, depicting the wars of the Egyptians in Asia. We see the giant figure of the Pharaoh as he stands in his war chariot, towering

Karnak — beginning of the Empire; arrival of the horse in Egypt

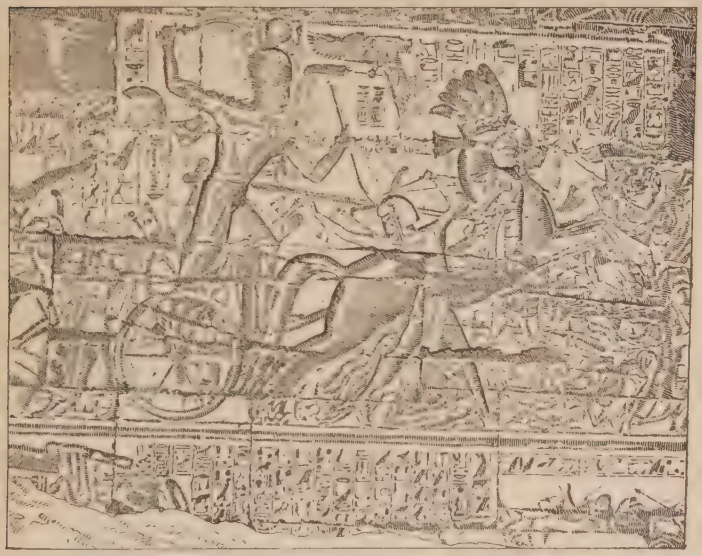


FIG. 26. A PHARAOH OF THE EMPIRE IN BATTLE

The Pharaoh stands in his chariot with the reins of his galloping horses fastened about his waist. His colossal figure towers above the form of the opposing chief below, who throws up his hands as the Pharaoh lifts a curved sword to strike him down. The tiny figures of the enemy are scattered beneath the Pharaoh's horses. This is one of an enormous series of such scenes, one hundred seventy feet long, carved in relief on the outside of the Great Hall of Karnak (Fig. 24). Such sculpture was brightly colored and served to enhance the architectural effect and to impress the people with the heroism of the Pharaoh

above all his fleeing foes, whom he drives before his plunging horses (Fig. 26). This is the first time we have met the horse on the ancient monuments. The animal has been imported from Asia, the chariot has come with him, and Egypt has learned

The Empire (1580–1150 B.C.)

warfare on a scale unknown before. The Pharaohs are now great generals, who lead their armies into Asia and establish an empire which extends from the Euphrates in Asia to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Africa.

FIG. 27. PORTRAIT OF THE NAPOLEON OF ANCIENT EGYPT, THUTMOSE III (FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C.)

Carved in granite and showing the great conqueror (p. 46) wearing the tall crown of Upper Egypt, with the sacred asp forming a serpent-crest above his forehead (see also Fig. 130). Such portraits in the Empire can be compared with the actual faces of these Egyptian emperors as we have them in their mummies (Fig. 32), and they are thus shown to be good likenesses

This world-power of the Pharaohs lasted from the early sixteenth century to the twelfth century B.C., something over four hundred years. The greatest of the conquerors during all this period was Thutmose III, who ruled for over fifty years, beginning about 1500 B.C. We may call him the Napoleon of Egypt, for he was the first great general in history, and he carried on wars in Asia for nearly twenty years, during which he led no less than seventeen campaigns there. His empire was slowly lost under the less powerful rule of Ramses II and his successors.

The wealth which the Pharaohs captured in Asia and Nubia during the Empire enabled them to live in such power and magnificence as the world had never seen before. The battle scenes we have just found (Fig. 26) are carved on the walls of a hall of the temple of Karnak — a hall so large that you could put into it the whole cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. The columns of the central aisle are sixty-nine feet high. The vast capital forming the summit of each column is large enough to contain a group of a hundred men standing upon it at the same time.

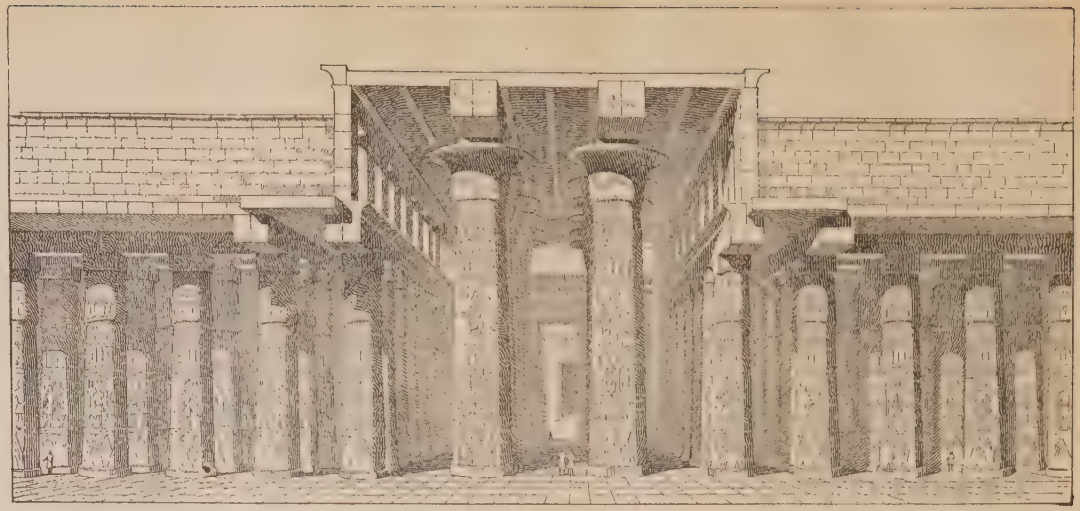


FIG. 28. RESTORATION OF THE GREAT HALL OF KARNAK — LARGEST BUILDING OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

With the wealth taken in Asia the Egyptian conquerors of the Empire enabled their architects to build the greatest colonnaded hall ever erected by man. It is three hundred thirty-eight feet wide and one hundred seventy feet deep, furnishing a floor area about equal to that of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, although this is only a single room of the temple. There are one hundred thirty-six columns in sixteen rows. The nave (three central aisles) is seventy-nine feet high and contains twelve columns in two rows higher than the rest. The resulting break in the level of the roof is filled up with windows lighting the hall. This "clerestory" (see p. 48) is already found in Khafre's valley-temple at Gizeh (Plate I). This type of building passed to Greece and Rome as the "basilica" (Fig. 113), out of which grew the plan of the Christian cathedral

As will be seen in Fig. 28, these central columns are taller than those on each side, and the resulting difference in the level of the roof permits the insertion of a row of windows on each side of the central aisle. Such an arrangement of the roof is called a clerestory ("clear story"), and the aisle with its columns and windows is termed a "nave." It is found in simpler form as far back as the Pyramid Age. Later it passed over to Europe, where it finally appeared as the leading form of Christian architecture — the cathedral church, whose nave, side aisles, and clerestory windows[1] (Fig. 170) have descended to us from the colonnaded temple halls of Egypt. These buildings of the Empire form the leading chapter in the early history of great architecture, though we should not forget that the columns employed here were already in use in the Pyramid Age (Fig. 22).

The splendor of the Empire temples at Thebes

Such temples as these at Thebes were seen through the deep green of clustering palms, among towering obelisks, and colossal statues of the Pharaohs (Fig. 29). The whole was bright with color, flashing at many a point with gold and silver, and, mirrored in the unruffled surface of the temple lake, it made a picture of such splendor as the ancient world had never seen before. These temples and their surrounding monuments were connected by imposing avenues of sphinxes, and thus grew up at Thebes the first great monumental city ever built by man — a city which as a whole was itself a vast and imposing monument.

Painting and sculpture in the temples

Much of the grandeur of Egyptian architecture was due to the sculptor and the painter. We have already viewed the vast battle scenes carved on the temple wall (Fig. 26). These scenes, like the rest of the temple, were painted in bright colors. Portrait statues of the Pharaoh also were set up before these temples; they were often so large that they rose above the towers of the temple front itself, — the tallest part of the building, — and they could be seen for miles around (Fig. 29). The sculptors cut these colossal figures from a single block, although they were

[1] These things were borrowed by the Christian architects from the Roman basilica, which in turn was derived from Greece, whither it had gone from Egypt.

FIG. 29. GIGANTIC PORTRAIT STATUES OF A PHARAOH OF THE EMPIRE AT THEBES (1400 B.C.)

They are seventy feet high; the right-hand figure bears many inscriptions of eminent Greek and Roman visitors (see p. 286). In the cliffs behind is the vast cemetery of Thebes (pp. 49–52)

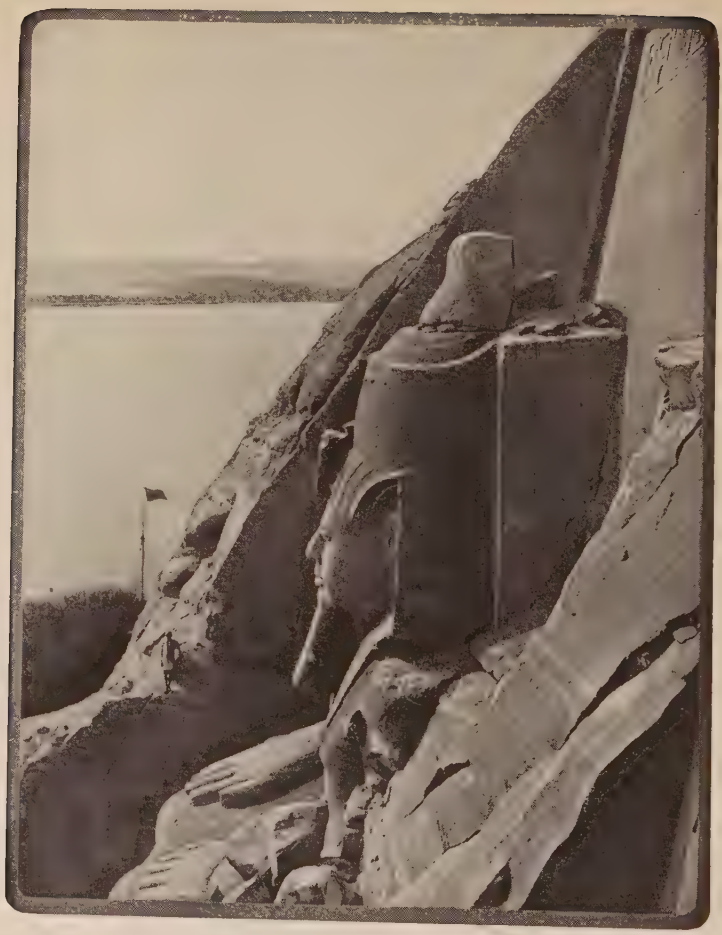


FIG. 30. COLOSSAL PORTRAIT FIGURE OF RAMSES II AT ABU SIMBEL IN EGYPTIAN NUBIA

Four such statues, seventy-five feet high, adorn the front of this temple. They are better preserved than those in Fig. 29, and show us that such vast figures were portraits. The face of Ramses II here closely resembles that of his mummy. Grand view of the Nubian Nile, on which the statues have looked down for thirty-two hundred years (see p. 49). View taken from the top of the crown of one of the statues and never before published. (Photograph by The University of Chicago Expedition)

sometimes eighty or ninety feet high and weighed as much as a thousand tons. This is a burden equivalent to the load drawn by a modern freight train, but it was not cut up into small units of light weight convenient for handling and loading like the train load. Nevertheless the engineers of the Empire moved many such vast figures for hundreds of miles. They generally dragged the statue on a huge sledge to the river, and then transported it in a large boat. It is in works of this massive monumental character that the art of Egypt excelled (Fig. 30).

FIG. 31. VALLEY AT THEBES WHERE THE PHARAOHS OF THE EMPIRE WERE BURIED

In the Empire (after 1600 B.C.) the Pharaohs had ceased to erect pyramids. They excavated their tombs in the mountains of this valley, penetrating in long galleries hundreds of feet into the rock. Taken from here and concealed near by, the bodies of many of the Pharaohs, although long ago stripped of their valuables by tomb robbers, have survived and now lie in the National Museum of Egypt at Cairo (Fig. 32)

Two of these enormous portraits of the Pharaoh still stand on the western plain of Thebes (Fig. 29). A splendid temple, now vanished, once rose behind them. In the background we see the majestic cliffs of the western valley wall. Behind these cliffs is a lonely valley (Fig. 31) where the Pharaohs of the Empire were buried in tombs reached by long galleries cut far into the mountain. Some of their bodies have been preserved, and we are able to look into the very faces of these great emperors who lived as much as thirty-four hundred years ago (Fig. 32).

The cemetery of Thebes; the tombs of the Pharaohs and the royal bodies

In these cliffs (Fig. 29), which look down upon the Theban plain, are cut hundreds of tomb-chapels belonging to the great

Tombs of the great men of the Empire

men of the Empire. Here were buried the able generals who marched with the Pharaoh on his campaigns in Asia and in Nubia. Here lay the gifted artists and architects who furnished a new chapter in the history of art — the men who were in charge of erecting the vast buildings and sculptured monuments (Fig. 30) of Thebes — the men whose genius made it the first great monumental city of the ancient world, so that its ruins are, as we have seen, the marvel of a host of modern visitors. We can enter these chapels and read the names of these men on their walls — and not only their names but long accounts of their lives and the great deeds which they wrought. Here is the story of the general who saved Thutmose III's life in a great elephant hunt in Asia, by rushing in and cutting off the trunk of an enraged elephant which was pursuing the king. Here is the tomb of the general who captured the city of Joppa in Palestine by concealing his men in panniers loaded on the backs of donkeys, thus bringing them into the city as merchandise — an adventure which afterward furnished part of the story of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves."

FIG. 32. BODY OF SETI I AS HE LIES IN HIS COFFIN IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT CAIRO

This king lived in the Empire in the fourteenth century B.C. He was buried in the valley shown in Fig. 31. His successors being unable to protect his body and those of other emperors from tomb robbers, hid them all in a large secret chamber excavated near the valley in the eleventh century B.C. Here the bodies lay unmolested for about three thousand years, until they were discovered and brought forth in 1881

The very furniture which these great men used in their houses was put into these tombs. Many beautiful things, like chairs covered with gold and silver and fitted with soft leathern cushions (Fig. 33), beds of sumptuous workmanship, jewel boxes and perfume caskets of the ladies (Fig. 34), or even the gold-covered chariot in which the Theban noble took his afternoon airing, thirty-three or thirty-four hundred years ago, have been found in these tombs and may now be seen in the National Museum at Cairo. This city of Thebes with its majestic temples and monuments and its vast cemetery is thus a great chapter in that vast historical volume of the Nile which we are reading — it is the chapter which tells us the impressive story of the Egyptian Empire.

The furniture and equipment of the Empire tombs

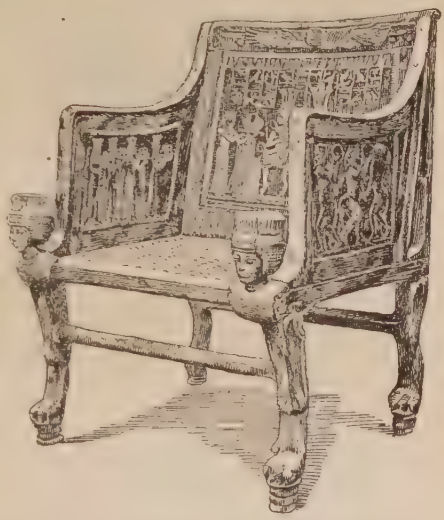


FIG. 33. ARMCHAIR FROM THE HOUSE OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE EMPIRE

This chair with other furniture from his house was placed in his tomb at Thebes in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. There it remained for nearly thirty-three hundred years, till it was discovered in 1905 and removed to the National Museum at Cairo (p. 51)

This cemetery discloses to us also how much further the Egyptian has advanced in his religion since the days of the pyramids of Gizeh. Each of these great men buried in the Theban cemetery looked forward to a judgment in the hereafter — a judgment at which he would be called upon to answer for the

Religion in the Empire

character of his life on earth and to show whether it had been good or bad. Osiris was the great judge and king in the next world, for he himself had suffered death but had triumphed over it and had risen from the dead (p. 27). Every good man might rise from the dead as Osiris had done; but in the presence of Osiris he would be obliged to see his soul weighed in the balances over against the symbol of truth and justice (Fig. 35). The dead man's friends always put into his coffin a roll of papyrus containing prayers and magic charms which would aid him in the hereafter, and among these was a picture of the judgment. We now call this roll the "Book of the Dead."

FIG. 34. JEWEL CASKET FROM THE HOUSE OF A NOBLE EGYPTIAN LADY OF THE EMPIRE

This lady was the wife of the owner of the chair (Fig. 33), and the casket was placed in the same tomb where both the noble and his wife were buried. The casket is overlaid with red and blue incrustation of glaze in the brightest tones. The inscriptions contain the name of the king who gave the casket to the lady

It was in these great days of the Empire that some of the leading Egyptians gained the belief in a single god to the exclusion of all others. Such a belief we call monotheism (see p. 108). Ikhnaton, the greatest of their kings, endeavored to make this faith in one god the religion of the Empire, but the opposition of the priests and the people was too strong, and he perished in the attempt.

But these monuments of Thebes do not tell us of the Egyptians alone. We find also in the temple-sculptures and the

The end of the Nile voyage and the close of the Egyptian Empire

tomb-chapel paintings many a scene which shows us the peoples of the northern Mediterranean whom we left in the Late Stone Age. On these Egyptian monuments we find them after they have received metal. With huge metal swords in their hands (Fig. 106) we see them serving as hired soldiers in the Egyptian army. These northerners finally entered Egypt in such numbers that in the twelfth century B.C. the weakened Egyptian Empire fell and never again recovered her old leadership. But the civilization of Egypt did not perish with the fall of the Egyptian Empire. Its culture survived far down into the Christian Age and greatly influenced later history, contributing many things to Europe, as, for example, the ancient calendar of the Nile dwellers (p. 23).

FIG. 35. JUDGMENT SCENE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

At the left we see entering, in white robes, the deceased, a man named Ani, and his wife. Before them are the balances of judgment for weighing the human heart, to determine whether it is just or not. A jackal-headed god adjusts the scales, while an Ibis-headed god stands behind him, pen in hand, ready to record the verdict of the balances. Behind him is a monster with head of a crocodile, fore quarters of a lion, and hind quarters of a hippopotamus, ready to devour the unjust soul. The small figure of a man at the left of the scales is the god of destiny, and behind him are two goddesses of birth. These three who presided over Ani's arrival in this world now stand by to watch the result of his life, as his heart (symbolized by a tiny jar), in the left scalepan, is weighed over against right and truth (symbolized by a feather) in the right-hand scalepan. The scene is painted in water colors on papyrus. Such a roll is sometimes as much as ninety feet long and filled from beginning to end with magical charms for the use of the dead in the next world. Hence the modern name for the whole roll, the "Book of the Dead"

The voyage up the Nile has told us, age by age, the story of Egypt and disclosed to us early man advancing out of the Late Stone Age to the discovery of metal, and then going on to develop a high civilization of far-reaching power and influence. Our Nile journey has also showed us how we gain knowledge of ancient men and their deeds, through the monuments and records which they have left behind. Such monuments and records have also been discovered along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers in Asia. They show us that, following the Egyptians, the Asiatic peoples rose to the leading position of power in the ancient world, and we must therefore turn in the next chapter to the story of the early Orient in Asia.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 6. Where is Egypt? Describe the modern traveler's journey into the country. Whence came the soil of Egypt? What are the shape and character of the country? Give its area. Describe its climate. What is the adjoining country like?

What remains have the Stone Age Egyptians left behind? Describe their life, industries, and government. How did they originate writing? writing materials? Is there any more important achievement of civilization than the invention of writing?

Describe the origin of the calendar and its final form in Egypt. Whence came *our* calendar? Describe the probable manner of the discovery of copper. What great ages of the career of man do Egyptian remains link together for us? Have we any such link anywhere else? Do the monuments along the Nile continue for us the story of man after the discovery of metal, writing, etc.? Why may we call the Nile valley a historical volume?

SECTION 7. What was the purpose of a pyramid? What do such buildings reveal to us about Egyptian religious beliefs? Give an account of the gods of Egypt. What does the cemetery of Gizeh reveal to us about the early Egyptian's progress in building?

How long before the Gizeh pyramids was he still building royal tombs of sun-baked brick? Draw the line of surviving tomb buildings in which we can follow the Egyptian's progress from sun-baked brick

to stone masonry (Fig. 13). How much time was needed for this progress? In what century did most of it fall?

With what other century may we compare it in such matters? What do such buildings reveal to us about government in the Pyramid Age? Give the date and length of the Pyramid Age. Date and describe the earliest-known seagoing ships.

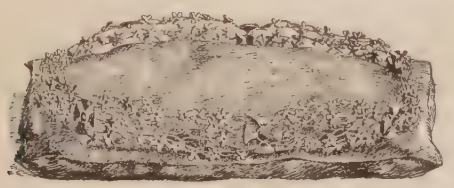
Discuss foreign commerce in the Pyramid Age. Describe a tomb-chapel in the Pyramid Age. Write an account of the industries and the social life revealed in the tomb-chapels of the Pyramid Age. Describe the art of the Pyramid Age.

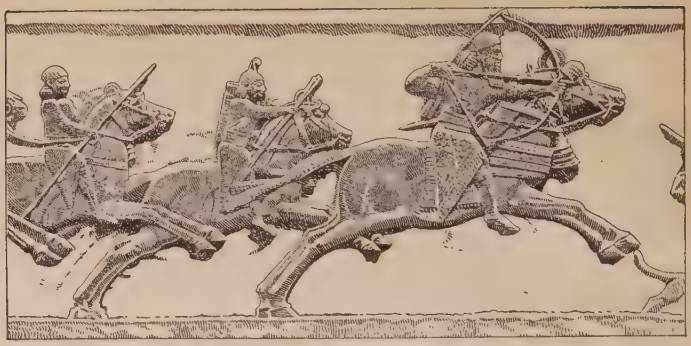
SECTION 8. How does the Nile voyage continue the story of the Egyptians? Discuss the Feudal Age. Give its date. Give an account of the feudal barons. Catalogue the contents of a library of this age. What kind of progress was being made?

SECTION 9. Through what ages has the voyage up the Nile carried us? What great age do we find revealed at Thebes, and what is its outstanding character? Give the date and extent of the Egyptian Empire. Who was its greatest conqueror? Describe the great buildings of the Empire. Describe a clerestory, and draw a diagram representing a cross section of one.

Compare it with a cross section of a Christian cathedral (Fig. 182). Describe the painting and sculpture in the Empire temples. Give an account of the cemetery at Thebes. How do the tombs differ from those of the Pyramid Age?

Recount some of the stories of the great men of the Empire which the Theban tomb-chapels tell us. What do they reveal of Egyptian progress in religion? What foreigners do the Theban monuments reveal to us? Did Egyptian civilization continue after the fall of the Empire? Give an example of its later influence.





CHAPTER III

WESTERN ASIA: BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, AND CHALDEA

Section 10. The Lands and Races of Western Asia

Water boundaries of western Asia

The westernmost reach of Asia is an irregular region roughly included within the circuit of waters marked out by the Caspian and Black seas on the north, by the Mediterranean and the Red seas on the west, and by the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf on the south and east. It is a region consisting chiefly of mountains on the north and desert on the south. The earliest home of men in this great arena of western Asia is a borderland between desert and mountains — a kind of cultivable fringe of the desert — a fertile crescent having the mountains on one side and the desert on the other.

Mountainous north; desert south

The fertile crescent between

This fertile crescent is approximately a semicircle, with the open side toward the south, having the west end at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean, the center directly north of Arabia, and the east end at the north end of the Persian Gulf (see map, p. 56). It lies like an army facing south, with one wing stretching along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the other reaching out to the Persian Gulf, while the center has its

EUROPE
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS MTS.
CASPIAN SEA
BALKAN MTS
ASIA MINOR
HITTITE EMPIRE
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ASSYRIA
ASSUR
Halys R.
Boghaz-Koi
Khatti
IRON REGION
Troy
Mycenae
Tiryns
Sardis
Dur-Sharrukin
Sargonburg
Nineveh
Archemish
Haran
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Kadesh
Kadesh on the Orontes
TAURUS MTS.
CILICIA
Cyprus
Crete
Knossus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Byblos
Sidon
Damascus
DESERT
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
BAY
Rosetta Mouth
Nile Delta
Canal
Gizeh
Cairo
Memphis
Pen. of Sinai
Oasis of Siwa
(Desert Shrine of Amon
Beni Hasan Tombs
Amarna
Thebes
Karnak
ARABIAN DESERT
ARABIA
Babylon
Susa
ELAM
Ur
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
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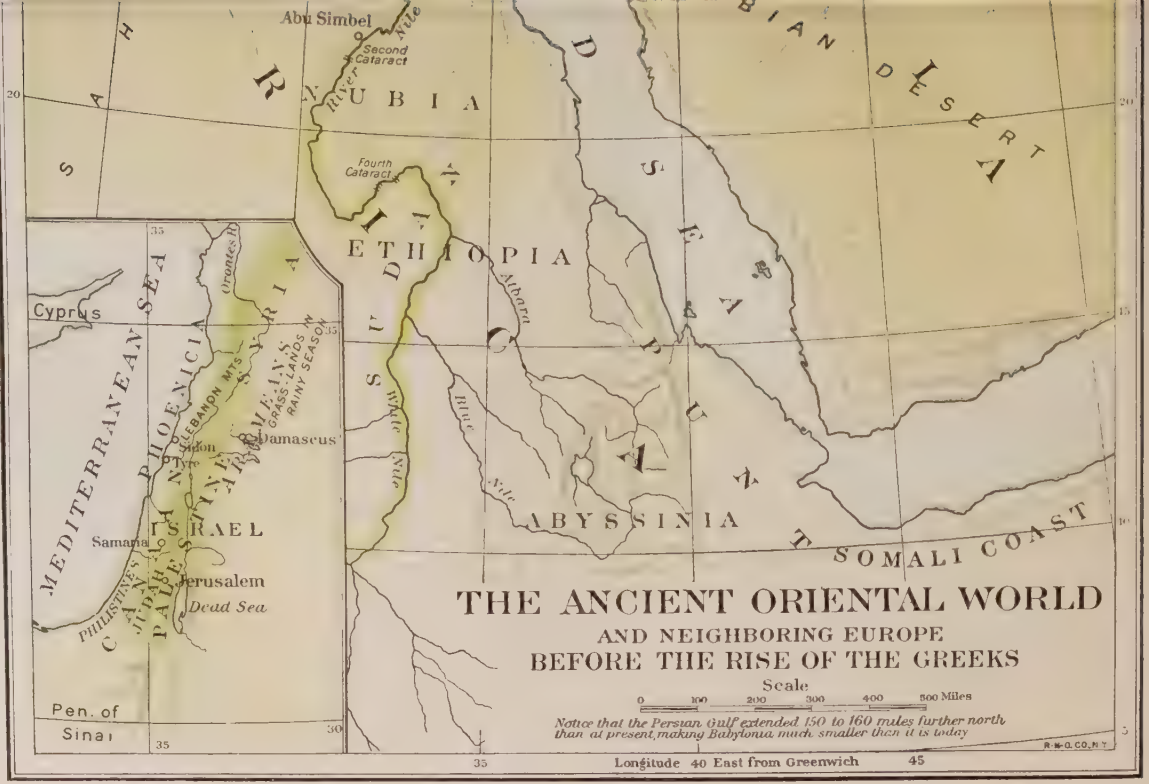

THE ANCIENT ORIENTAL WORLD

AND NEIGHBORING EUROPE BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GREEKS

Scale

0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

Notice that the Persian Gulf extended 150 to 160 miles further north than at present, making Babylonia much smaller then it is today

R. R. D. CO., N. Y.

back against the northern mountains. The end of the western wing is Palestine, Assyria makes up a large part of the center, while the end of the eastern wing is Babylonia.

The desert-bay

This great semicircle, for lack of a name, may be called the fertile crescent.[1] It may also be likened to the shores of a desert-bay, upon which the mountains behind look down — a bay, not of water but of sandy waste, some five hundred miles across, forming a northern extension of the Arabian desert, and sweeping as far north as the latitude of the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. After the meager winter rains much of the northern desert-bay is clothed with scanty grass, and spring thus turns the region for a short time into grasslands. Much of the history of western Asia may be described as an age-long struggle between the mountain peoples of the north and the desert wanderers of these grasslands — a struggle which is still going on — for the possession of the fertile crescent, the shores of the desert-bay.

The Arabian desert and the Semitic nomad

Arabia is totally lacking in rivers and enjoys but a few weeks of rain in midwinter; hence it is a desert very little of which is habitable. Its people are and have been from the remotest ages a great white race called Semites, with two of whose tribes we are familiar, the Arabs, and the Hebrews whose descendants dwell among us. They all spoke and still speak dialects of the same tongue, of which Hebrew was one. For ages they have moved up and down the habitable portions of the Arabian world, seeking pasturage for their flocks and herds. Such wandering shepherds are called nomads.

Ceaseless shift of the nomad from the desert to the fertile crescent

From the earliest times, when the spring grass of the northern wilderness is gone, they have been constantly drifting in from the sandy sea upon the shores of the northern desert-bay. If they can secure a footing there, they slowly make the transition from the *wandering* life of the desert nomad to the *settled* life

[1] There is no name, either geographical or political, which includes all of this great semicircle (see map, p. 56). Hence we are obliged to coin a term and call it the "fertile crescent."

of the agricultural peasant. This slow shift at times swells into a great tidal wave of migration, when the wild hordes of the wilderness roll in upon the fertile shores of the desert-bay — a human tide from the desert to the towns which they overwhelm. We can see this process going on for thousands of years. Among such movements we are familiar with the passage of the Hebrews from the desert into Palestine, as described in the

FIG. 36. THE EUPHRATES AT BABYLON IN WINTER

The winter rainfall (p. 61) is so slight that the river shrinks to a very low level and its bed is exposed and dry almost to the middle. In summer the rains and melting snows in the northern mountains swell the river till it overflows its banks and inundates the Babylonian plain. The house on the right is the dwelling of the German Expedition still engaged in excavating Babylon

Bible; and we shall later learn (Chapter XIV) of the invasions of the Arab hosts of Islam, which even reached Europe. After they had adopted a settled town life the colonies of the Semites stretched far westward through the Mediterranean, especially in northern Africa, even to southern Spain and the Atlantic (see diagram, Fig. 49). But it took many centuries for the long line of their settlements to creep slowly westward until it reached the Atlantic, and we must begin with the Semites in the desert.

Life on the desert

The life of the wandering Semites in the desert is very simple. They possess only scanty, movable property, chiefly flocks and herds. They hold no land, they know no law, they are unable to write. They are practically without industries, and thus the desert tribesmen lead a life of unhampered freedom. Their needs oblige them to traffic now and then in the towns, and through such connections with the townsmen these desert wanderers often become the common carriers of the settled communities, fearlessly leading their caravans across the wastes of the desert sea, especially between Syria-Palestine and Babylonia.

Traffic and the caravan

Religion of the nomad

The wilderness is the nomad's home. His imagination peoples the far reaches of the desert with invisible and uncanny creatures, who inhabit every rock and tree, hilltop and spring. These creatures are his gods. Each one of these beings controls only a little corner of the great world; he becomes the nomad's tribal god and journeys with him from pasture to pasture, sharing his food and his feasts and receiving as his due from the tribesman the first-born of the flocks and herds. The thoughts of the desert wanderer about such a god are crude and barbarous, and his religious customs are often savage, even leading him to sacrifice his children to appease the angry god. On the other hand, the nomad has a dawning sense of justice and of right, and he feels obligations of kindness to his fellows which he believes are the compelling voice of his god. Such lofty moral vision made the Semites the religious teachers of the civilized world. At the same time these Semites had practical gifts which made them the greatest merchants of the ancient world, as their Hebrew descendants among us still are at the present day.

The western Semites

As early as 3000 B.C. or a little after, they were drifting in from the desert and settling in Palestine, where we find them in possession of walled towns by 2500 B.C. (Fig. 55). These predecessors of the Hebrews in Palestine were a tribe called Canaanites (p. 102); further north settled a powerful tribe known as Amorites (p. 67); while along the shores of north Syria some of these one-time desert wanderers had taken to the sea,

and had become the Phœnicians (p. 137). By 2000 B.C. all these settled communities of the Semites had developed no mean degree of civilization, drawn for the most part from Egypt and Babylonia.

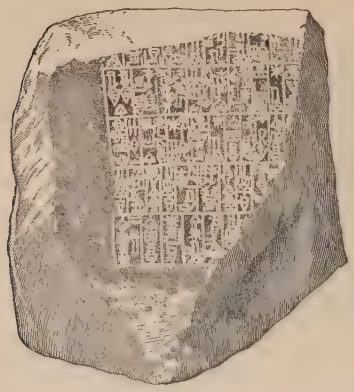

FIG. 37. EARLY SUMERIAN WEDGE-WRITING, THE EARLIEST WRITING OF BABYLONIA (ABOUT 2900 B.C.)

Such archaic examples (3000 to 2500 B.C.) were written in short vertical lines read downward. Each sign was a picture. Pressing the corner of a square reed-tip into the soft clay for each line of the picture tended to produce a wedge-shaped line, and each picture thus became a group of wedge-shaped lines. These signs were also employed engraved on stone. The above inscription is on a fragment of a stone mortar and records a Sumerian king's dedication of the mortar to a goddess. Among other things the king prays to the goddess, "May the king of Kish not seize it [the mortar]," showing the dangers of this Age of the City-States (p. 64)

At the same time we can watch similar movements of the nomads at the *eastern* end of our fertile crescent (p. 56), along the lower course of the Tigris and Euphrates (Fig. 36). These two rivers rise in the northern mountains (see map, p. 56), whence they issue to cross the fertile crescent and to cut obliquely southeastward through the northern bay of the desert (p. 57). As the rivers approach most closely to each other, about one hundred and sixty or seventy miles from the Persian Gulf,[1] they emerge from the desert and enter a low plain of fertile soil, formerly brought down by the rivers to fill a prehistoric bay like the Delta of the Nile. This plain is Babylonia, the eastern end of the fertile crescent.

[1] This distance applies only to ancient Babylonian and Assyrian days. The rivers have since then filled up the Persian Gulf for one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty miles, and the gulf is that much shorter at the present day (see note under scale on map, p. 56, and see map, *Ancient Times*, p. 106).

Area of the Babylonian plain

Rarely more than forty miles wide, this plain contained probably less than eight thousand square miles of cultivable soil — roughly equal to the state of New Jersey or the territory of Wales. It lies in the Mediterranean belt of rainy winter and dry summer, but the rainfall is so scanty (less than three inches a year) that irrigation of the fields is required in order to ripen the grain. When properly irrigated the plain is prodigiously fertile, and the chief source of wealth in Babylonia was agriculture. This plain was the scene of the most important and long-continued of those frequent struggles between the mountaineer and the nomad, of which we have spoken.

Its fertility

Section 11. The Earliest Babylonians

Race of the early Sumerians

The mountaineers were not Semitic and show no relationship to the Semitic nomads of the Arabian desert.[1] We are indeed unable to connect the earliest of these mountain peoples with any of the great racial groups known to us. We find them shown on monuments of stone, as having shaven heads and wearing heavy woolen kilts (Fig. 41). While they were still using stone implements, some of these mountaineers, now known as Sumerians, pushed through the passes of the eastern mountains at a very early date. Long before 3000 B.C. they had reclaimed the marshes around the mouths of the two rivers of Babylonia.

Sumerians enter the Babylonian plain

Their material civilization

Their settlements of low mud-brick huts soon creep northward along the river banks. They learn to control the spring freshets with dikes and to distribute the waters in irrigation trenches. They already possess cattle, sheep, and goats. The ox draws the plow, and the ass pulls *wheeled* carts and chariots, and the wheel as a burden-bearing device emerges here for the first time.[2] But

[1] On the other hand, although they were certainly white races, the mountaineers exhibited no relationship to the Indo-European group of peoples who were already spreading through the country north and east of the Caspian at a very early date. The Indo-European peoples, from whom we ourselves have descended, are discussed in section 16.

[2] Probably earlier than the wheel in the Swiss lake-villages of the Late Stone Age (p. 12).

the horse is still unknown. Traffic with the upper river brings in metal from the Nile valley, and the smith learns to fashion utensils of copper. But he has not yet learned to harden the copper into bronze by admixture of tin.

Sumerian wedge-writing and calendar

Traffic and government have taught these people to make records, scratched in rude pictures with the tip of a reed on a flat piece of soft clay. Speed in writing simplified these pictures into groups of wedge-shaped marks, once the lines of the picture (Fig. 37). Hence these signs are called cuneiform, meaning "wedge-form," writing (Latin, *cuneus*, "wedge"). This writing was phonetic, but did not possess alphabetic signs. In order to date events in a given year, each year received a name, after some important event which had happened in it. The year was composed of moon-months, twelve of which fall very far short of making up a solar year. An extra month must be inserted every three years or so. This inconvenient calendar was also employed by later peoples of the Mediterranean, until it was replaced by that of Egypt (pp. 23 and 268), which we now use.[1]

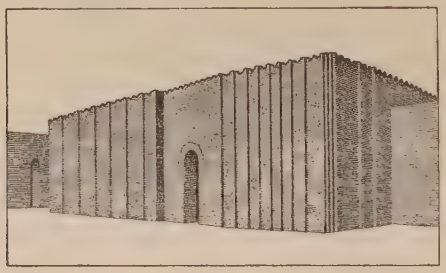

FIG. 38. RESTORATION OF AN EARLY BABYLONIAN HOUSE. (AFTER KOLDEWEY)

The towns of the early Babylonians were small and were chiefly made of such sun-baked brick houses as these. Their simple adornment consisted only of vertical panels and a stepped ("crenelated") edge at the top of the wall. The doors were crowned by arches in contrast with the Egyptians, who knew the arch but preferred a horizontal line above all doorways

Sumerian religion

In the midst of their most sacred town we see rising a tall pyramidal mount of brick (compare Fig. 43) which serves as the

[1] The moon-month calendar is still in use among the oriental Jews and Mohammedans.

dwelling of Enlil, their great god of the air. It is an artificial mountain, built in memory of an ancient temple on a hilltop in their former mountain home. It was such a temple-tower in Babylon which later gave rise to the story of the "Tower of Babel" among the Hebrews. Such "nature gods" as Enlil form the center of their life; the temple in each community

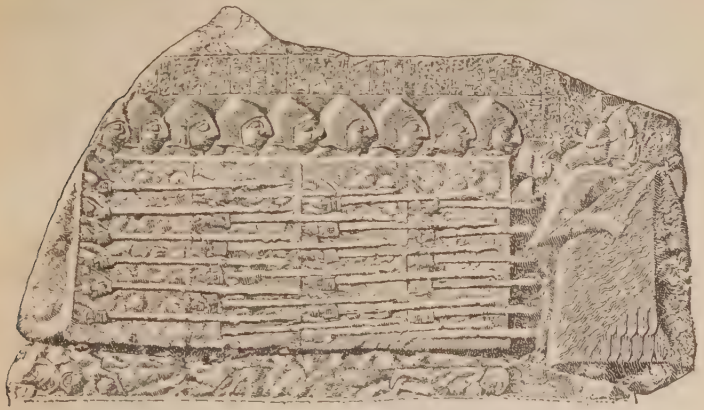

FIG. 39. A SUMERIAN LINE OF BATTLE

The troops of a Sumerian city-king, marching into battle, about 2900 B.C. The king himself, whose face is broken off from the stone, marches at the right, heading his troops, who follow in a close phalanx, with spears set for the charge. Tall shields cover their entire bodies, and they wear close-fitting helmets, probably of leather. They are marching over dead bodies (symbolical of the overthrow of the enemy). The scene is carved in stone. It is a good example of the rude Sumerian sculpture in Babylonia in the days of the Great Pyramid in Egypt (contrast with Figs. 23 and 40)

is the center of the town, around which the sun-baked brick houses (Fig. 38) of the townsmen spread out for a few hundred feet. These houses, of which only the foundations now remain, tell us little of the life which once moved in these streets, and the meager story is not enlivened by beautiful scenes on the walls of tomb-chapels, such as we find in Egypt.

Society

Hence we cannot visit the country and make its monuments tell us its story as we have done in Egypt. The Sumerians built no such tombs, nor had they any belief in a blessed hereafter. Their business documents, written on clay tablets, reveal to us a class of free, landholding citizens, working their lands with slaves, who form a large part of the population, and trading with caravans and small boats up and down the river.

The Sumerian city-state

Over both these classes, free and slave, there is a numerous body of officials and priests — the aristocrats of the town. They are ruled, along with all the rest, by a priest-king. Such a community, forming a town or city kingdom and owning the lands for a few miles round about the town, is the political unit, or state. Babylonia as a whole consisted of a number of such small city-kingdoms, and this earliest Sumerian period may be called the Age of the City-States. These early city-states were more skilled in war (Fig. 39) than the Egyptians and were constantly fighting each with its neighbors. Such struggles among themselves seriously weakened the Sumerians and made them less able to resist the incoming men of the desert.

Wars of the city-states

The desert Semites likewise invade the plain

The tribesmen from the desert had early begun to filter into the Euphrates valley. They were finally settled in such numbers along the narrow strip of land where the two rivers approach each other most closely that they took possession of northern Babylonia. By the middle of the twenty-eighth century B.C. they had established a kingdom there known as Akkad. These Akkadians, under a bold and able leader named Sargon, descended the Euphrates and overthrew the Sumerians far and wide. Thus arose the first Semitic kingdom of importance in history, and Sargon I, its founder, is the first great name in the history of the Semitic race.

Sargon of Akkad — earliest Semitic supremacy

Semites receive Sumerian civilization

These one-time wanderers of the desert learned to write the Sumerian wedge-writing, and it was now that a Semitic language was written for the first time. Sargon and his people gained Sumerian civilization. Their own vigorous life, fresh as the breath of the desert, also contributed much, especially in art (Fig. 40),

FIG. 40. A KING OF AKKAD STORMING A FORTRESS — THE EARLIEST GREAT SEMITIC WORK OF ART (ABOUT 2700 B.C.)

King Naram-Sin of Akkad (son of Sargon I, p. 64) has pursued the enemy into a mountain stronghold. His heroic figure towers above his pygmy enemies, each one of whom has fixed his eyes on the conqueror, awaiting his signal of mercy. The sculptor, with fine insight, has depicted the dramatic instant when the king lowers his weapon as the sign that he grants the conquered their lives. Compare the superiority of this Semitic sculpture of Akkad over the Sumerian art of two centuries earlier (Fig. 39)

Mingling of Sumerian and Semite

in which they far surpassed their Sumerian teachers. Thus the life and qualities of the desert Semite and those of the non-Semitic mountaineer now mingle on the Babylonian plain, as Norman and English later mingled in Merry England. On the streets and in the market places of the Euphrates towns, where

FIG. 41. A SEMITIC NOBLE AND HIS SUMERIAN SECRETARY (TWENTY-SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

The third figure (wearing a cap) is that of the noble, Ubil-Ishtar, who is brother of the king. He is a Semite, as his beard shows. Three of his four attendants are also Semites, with beards and long hair; but one of them (just behind the noble) is beardless and shaven-headed. He is the noble's secretary, for being a Sumerian he is skilled in writing. His name "Kalki" we learn from the inscription in the corner, which reads, "Ubil-Ishtar, brother of the king; Kalki, the scribe, thy servant." This inscription is in the Semitic (Akkadian) tongue of the time and illustrates how the Semites have learned the Sumerian signs for writing. The scene is engraved on Kalki's personal seal, of which the above is a drawing. It is a fine example of the Babylonian art of seal-cutting in hard stone. The original is in the British Museum

once the bare feet, clean-shaven heads, and beardless faces of the Sumerian townsmen were the only ones to be seen, there is now a plentiful sprinkling of sandaled feet, of dark beards, and of heavy black locks hanging down over the shoulders of the swarthy Semites of Akkad (Fig. 41).

Section 12. The Age of Hammurapi and after

Hammurapi — the second Semitic supremacy

Centuries of struggle between the Sumerians and Semites ensue. A tribe of Amorites from the west (p. 59) gains control of the little town of Babylon. Hammurapi, one of their kings, fights for thirty years and conquers all Babylonia (about 2100 B.C.). Again the desert wins, as this second great Semitic ruler, Hammurapi, raises Babylon, thus far a small and unimportant town, to be the leading place in the plain which we may now more properly call "Babylonia."

Civilization of the age of Hammurapi

Hammurapi survived his triumph twelve years. It is not a little interesting to watch this great man, still betraying in his shaven upper lip (a desert custom) the evidence of his desert ancestry, as he puts forth his powerful hand upon the teeming life of Babylonia, and with a touch brings in order and system where before all had been confusion. He collects all the older laws and customs of business, legal, and social life and issues these in a great legal code. Engraved upon a splendid shaft of diorite, these laws have survived to our day, the oldest-preserved code of ancient law (Fig. 42). On the whole it is a surprisingly just code and shows much consideration for the poor and defenseless classes.

The laws of Hammurapi

Expansion of Babylonian commerce

Thus regulated, Babylonia prospers as never before, and her merchants penetrate far and wide into the surrounding countries. The clay-tablet invoices in Babylonian writing which accompany their heavily loaded caravans have to be read by many a merchant in the towns of Syria and behind the northern mountains. Thus the wedge-writing of Babylonia gradually makes its way through western Asia. There is as yet no coined money, but lumps of silver of a given weight circulate so commonly (p. 98) that values are given in *weight* of silver. Thus a man may say an ox is worth so many ounces of silver, only he would use "shekels" (the name of a weight) in place of ounces. Loans are common, and the rate of interest is twenty per cent. Babylonian civilization is above all things mercantile. Merchandising is the chief occupation and even invades the temples.

Temples and religion

The temples are trading centers, owning vast properties, carrying on banking, and controlling much of the business of the people. Nevertheless there are some indications of higher desires. The ritual of the temples contains a small group of prayers which indicate a deep sense of sin; but the chief teachings of religion show a man how to obtain prosperity from the gods and how to avoid their displeasure. Among such teachings are methods of foretelling the future by reading the stars. This art, now called "astrology," formed the beginnings of astronomy (p. 83).

A journey through Babylonia to-day could not tell us such a

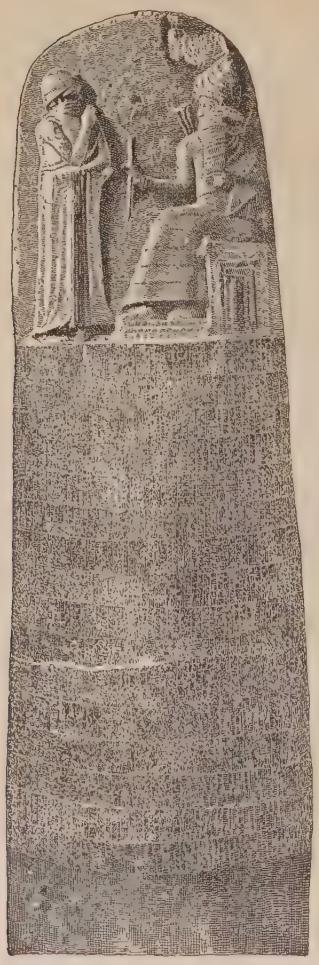

FIG. 42. THE LAWS OF HAMMURAPI, THE OLDEST-SURVIVING CODE OF LAWS (2100 B.C.)*

* A shaft of stone (diorite) nearly eight feet high, on which the laws are engraved, extending entirely around the shaft and occupying over thirty-six hundred lines. Above is a fine relief showing King Hammurapi standing at the left, receiving the laws from the Sun-god seated at the right. Hammurapi's shaven upper lip proclaiming him a man of the Syrian desert (p. 67) is here in the shadow and cannot be seen. The flames rising from the god's shoulders indicate who he is. The flames on the left shoulder are commonly shown in the current textbooks as part of a staff in the god's left hand. This is an error. This scene is an impressive work of Semitic art, six hundred years later than Fig. 40

story as we read among the monuments on our voyage up the Nile. To-day the Babylon of Hammurapi has perished utterly. The meager remains of his age do not reveal a bright and sunny outlook upon life, which felt deeply the beauty of the world and clothed with that beauty all the surroundings of house, furniture, and garden (Fig. 38). There is no painting; the sculpture of the Semites is in one instance (Fig. 40) powerful and dramatic, but portraiture is scarcely able to distinguish one individual from another. Of architecture little remains. There were no colonnades and no columns, though brick supports were employed. The chief architectural creation is the temple tower (as in Fig. 43), but of the temples no example has survived. The beautiful art of gem-cutting, as we find it in their seals, was the greatest art of the Babylonians (Fig. 41).

Art

We may summarize the history of Babylonia as a thousand years of developing civilization and of struggle, during which Sumerian and Semite each rose and fell twice — a thousand years reaching its highest point and its end in the reign of Hammurapi. Thenceforth the barbarians from the mountains poured into the Babylonian plain. They brought with them the *horse*,[1] which now appears for the first time in Babylonia. They divided and then destroyed the kingdom of Hammurapi. After him there followed more than a thousand years of complete stagnation. Henceforth Babylonia plays but a minor part in the history of the East, until in the seventh century B.C. a new line of desert nomads, the Chaldeans (see p. 80), established that Empire made famous by the name of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian captivity of the Hebrews. The influence of the venerable Babylonian civilization lived on, especially in writing, religion, and literature. The old Sumerian tongue — though no longer spoken — was employed in religious documents as a sacred language, which only the priests understood, as Latin has survived in the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church.

Summary of Babylonian history

[1] It was a few centuries later that the horse entered Egypt, as we have seen (p. 45). We shall soon learn (p. 90) whence these Babylonian horses came.

Section 13. Early Assyria and her Rivals

Semitic kingdoms along the fertile crescent

The history of our great fertile crescent (see p. 58) did not end, however, with this decline of Babylonia. We find its story continuing among other settlements of the desert nomads extending all along the shores of the northern desert-bay. In the northeast corner of the desert-bay, in the days when Sargon I and his line were ruling in Babylonia, a Hittite chief (Fig. 60) from the mountains of Asia Minor had built his castle. It was really a mountain outpost within the desert-bay, whose rolling hills enveloped it on all sides. Seeking the northern pastures, a tribe of desert nomads who called themselves Assur (whence Assyria) seized this stronghold and its outlying villages. Thus arose the little kingdom of Assur, like a dozen others along this desert margin. It was nearer the middle of the great crescent than Babylonia and held a position better suited to rule the shores of the desert-bay.

Assur, once a Hittite chieftain's stronghold

Earliest Assyrian civilization came from the south

In climate more invigorating than the hot Babylonian plain, Assur had many fertile valleys and an agricultural population. The Assyrians early learned cuneiform writing (p. 62), and their language was the same as that of Semitic Babylonia, with slight differences in dialect. In the days when Hammurapi's ancestors had seized Babylon (2225 B.C.) (p. 67), Assur was already strong enough to dispute the boundary line with them. Constantly obliged to defend their uncertain frontiers and settlements, both against their kindred of the desert and against the mountaineers, the Assyrians were toughened by the strain of unceasing war.

Western expansion of Assyria

By 1100 B.C. their peasant militia had beaten the western kings in Syria and looked down upon the Mediterranean, where the Egyptian Empire had collapsed two generations before (p. 53). Thrown back at this time, they reached it again in the ninth century B.C., and likewise made their power felt through a wide region of the northern mountains, around which they passed in a march of a thousand miles. At the same time the Assyrian kings more than once occupied and ruled Babylonia.

The Arameans and Damascus

Meanwhile a new wave of Semitic nomads had rolled in from the desert-bay and by 1400 B.C. occupied its western shores; that is, Palestine and Syria. These were the Hebrews in Palestine, and somewhat later the Arameans, who founded a powerful kingdom at Damascus. The expansion of Assyria was stopped in the west by the Aramean kings of Damascus, who were wealthy commercial rulers. Indeed, these Arameans persistently pushed their caravans and settlements all along the shores of the desert-bay, and after the decline of Babylonia they held the commerce of western Asia. They received alphabetic writing from the Phœnicians, the earliest system of writing known which employed only alphabetic signs (p. 139). The Aramaic language of this merchant people of Damascus finally displaced that of the Hebrews, and Aramaic became the tongue spoken by Jesus and the other Hebrews of his time in Palestine. It is called Aramaic because it was spoken by the Arameans, and it is a Semitic dialect differing but little from its sister tongue, Hebrew.

Section 14. The Assyrian Empire (about 750 to 606 B.C.)

Sargon II of Assyria

By the middle of the eighth century B.C., however, Assyria resumed her plans of westward expansion. We can follow her irresistible western campaigns not only in the clay-tablet records of her kings but also in the warnings and appeals of the Hebrew prophets, as they talked to their people. But they were unable to prevent the advance of the Assyrians as they beheld Damascus, the only defense between them and the armies of Assyria, slowly giving way. In the midst of these great western campaigns of Assyria one of the leading Assyrian generals usurped the throne (722 B.C.) while he was besieging the unhappy Hebrew city of Samaria (p. 106). He was a very skillful soldier, and as king he took the name of Sargon, the first great Semite of Babylonia, who had reigned two thousand years earlier (p. 64). The new

Fall of Damascus

Sargon (Fig. 43) and his line[1] raised Assyria to the height of her grandeur and power as a military empire. Damascus at last fell, and the two little Hebrew kingdoms of Israel and Judah were then helpless before their terrible assailant (p. 106). At the same time the prosperous Phœnician cities of the coast were all humiliated and made subject kingdoms.

Sennacherib

Far up into Asia Minor the name of Sargon's son Sennacherib was known and feared, as he plundered Tarsus and the easternmost Ionian Greek strongholds (p. 146) just after 700 B.C. A crushing burden of tribute was laid on all subject states, and hence Egypt, fearing Assyrian invasion, was constantly able to stir revolt among the oppressed western peoples. Perceiving that Egypt's interference must be stopped, Sennacherib's son was knocking at the gates of the eastern Delta defenses by 674 B.C. Repulsed at first, he returned to the attack, and Egypt at last fell a prey to the Assyrian armies.

Egypt conquered by Assyria

Extent of the Assyrian Empire

By the middle of the seventh century B.C. the Assyrian Empire included all of the fertile crescent (p. 58). It thus extended entirely around the great desert-bay, including also the mountain country far behind. It also held the lower Nile valley in the west, though this last was too distant and detached to be kept long. Built up by a century of irresistible and far-reaching military campaigns, the Assyrian conquests formed the most extensive empire the world had yet seen.

Nineveh

Along the Tigris the vast palaces (Fig. 43) and imposing temple towers of the Assyrian emperors arose, reign after reign. Sennacherib devoted himself to the city of Nineveh, just north of Assur, and it became the far-famed capital of Assyria. The lofty and massive walls of the city which he built stretched two miles and a half along the banks of the Tigris. Here in his gorgeous palace he ruled the western Asiatic world

[1] The dynasty of Sargon II is as follows:

Sargon II	722–705 B.C.
Sennacherib	705–681 B.C.
Esarhaddon	681–668 B.C.
Ashurbanipal (called Sardanapalus by the Greeks)	668–626 B.C.

with an iron hand, and collected tribute from all the subject peoples. The whole administration centered in the king's business office, where he received the letters and reports of some

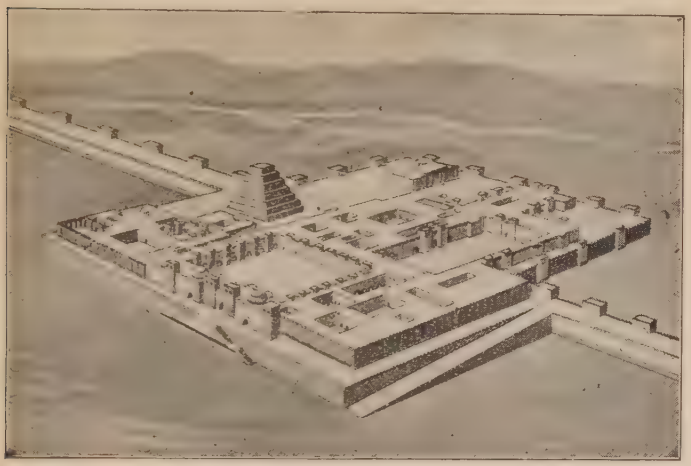

FIG. 43. RESTORATION OF THE PALACE OF SARGON II OF ASSYRIA (722–705 B.C.)

The palace stands partly inside and partly outside of the city wall on a vast elevated platform of brick masonry, to which inclined roadways and stairways rise from the *inside* of the city wall. The king could thus drive up in his chariot from the streets of the city below to the palace pavement above. The rooms and halls are clustered about a number of courts open to the sky. The main entrance (with stairs before it leading down to the city) is adorned with massive towers and arched doorways built of richly colored glazed brick, and embellished with huge human-headed bulls carved of alabaster (see cut, p. 85, also Figs. 44 and 45). The pyramidal tower behind the great court was inherited from Babylonia (p. 63). It is a sacred dwelling place of the god, and his temple (with two others) stands just at the foot of the tower on the left

Organization of the Assyrian military state

sixty governors, besides many subject kings who were sometimes allowed to rule under Assyrian control. The Emperor lived in dazzling splendor, surrounded by an imposing array of courtiers and officials who were his assistants in the work of administration.

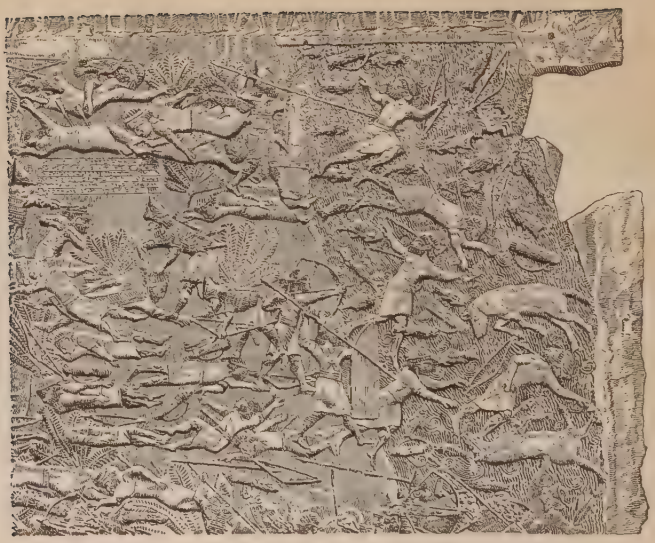

FIG. 44. ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS PURSUING THE FLEEING ENEMY ACROSS A STREAM

The stream occupies the right half of the scene. As drawn by the Assyrian artist, it may be recognized by the fish and the curling waves; also by the bows and quivers full of arrows floating downstream, along with the bodies of two dead horses, one on his back with feet up. Two dead men, with arrows sticking in their bodies, are drifting in mid-stream. Three of the living leap from the bank as their pursuers stab them with spears or shoot them with drawn bow. The Assyrian spear-men carry tall shields, but the archer needs both hands for his bow and carries no shield. The dead are strewn along the shore, occupying the left half of the scene. At the top the vultures are plucking out their eyes; in the middle an Assyrian is cutting off a head; beside him another plants his foot on a dead man's head and plunders him of his weapons. The vegetation along the river is shown among the bodies. As art, compare this sculpture with Semitic relief two thousand years older (Fig. 40 and see p. 77)

The army

Amid this outward magnificence we discern the army as the center of the Emperor's power, and indeed of the state itself. The state is a vast military machine, more terrible than any such agency mankind had ever yet seen (Fig. 44). An important new fact aided in bringing about this result. The Assyrian forces were the first large armies to bear weapons of iron, replacing the older armament of bronze, as borne for example by the armies of the Egyptian Empire (p. 53). A single arsenal room of Sargon's palace contained two hundred tons of iron implements when uncovered by modern excavators. The bulk of the army was composed of archers, supported by heavy-armed spearmen and shield bearers (Fig. 44), and the famous horsemen and chariotry of Nineveh (Fig. 45 and headpiece, p. 56).

First large army with weapons of iron

Terrors of the Assyrian army

Besides their iron weapons the Assyrian soldiers possessed a certain inborn ferocity which held all western Asia in abject terror before the thundering squadrons of the Ninevite.[1] The reigns of the Assyrian emperors were each one long war on all frontiers. Wherever their terrible armies swept through the land, they left a trail of ruin and desolation behind. Around smoking heaps which had once been towns, stretched lines of tall stakes on which were stuck the bodies of revolting rulers flayed alive; while all around rose mounds and piles of the slaughtered, heaped up to celebrate the great king's power and serve as a warning to all revolters. Through clouds of dust arising along all the main roads of the Empire the men of the subject kingdoms behold great herds of cattle, horses, and asses, flocks of goats and sheep, and long lines of camels loaded with gold and silver, the wealth of the conquered, converging upon the palace at Nineveh. Before them march the chief men of the plundered kingdoms, with the bloody and severed heads of their former princes tied about their necks. Thus a vast and relentless system organized for plunder was absorbing the wealth of the East.

While this plundered wealth was necessary for the support of the army it also served high purposes. We behold magnificent

[1] See Nahum iii, 2–3.

Civilization of the Assyrian Empire

palace fêtes and banquets at which all the nobles and officers of the court are present, to celebrate the completion of some huge royal castle; or we see the Emperor amid music and sacrifice receiving the good wishes of his lords as he returns from a successful lion hunt (Fig. 45). The Assyrian palaces are now imposing buildings (Fig. 43), suggesting in architecture

Architecture

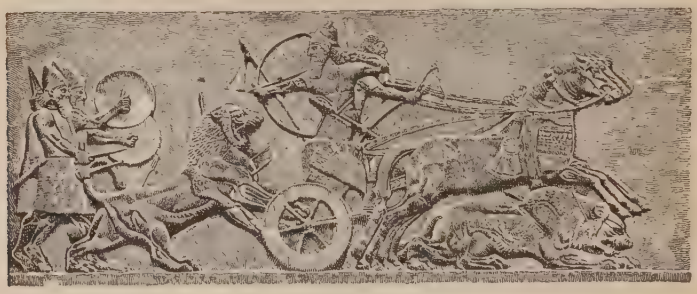

FIG. 45. AN ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING LIONS

The king stands in the chariot, and while his driver urges the horses (notice loose reins and whip) at full gallop, he draws his bow to the arrowhead and discharges arrows full into the face of an enraged lion just leaping into the chariot. Three foot soldiers follow behind, and another lion with body full of arrows sinks down to die. A fine example of the Assyrian sculptor's skill in drawing animals. Such scenes as this and Fig. 44 (also cut, p. 85) were carved on large slabs of stone (alabaster) and in long bands they stretched along the base of the walls of halls and corridors of an Assyrian palace (Fig. 43) for hundreds of feet. They display both the art of Assyria and the terrible ferocity of her soldiers (Fig. 44 and p. 77)

something of the far-reaching power of their builder. His architects appreciate the beauty of the arch, and we must number among great works of architecture the impressive arches of the palace entrance, faced with glazed brick in gorgeous colors (cut, p. 86). On either side are vast human-headed bulls wrought in alabaster,[1] and above the whole tower lofty castellated walls of baked brick, visible far across the royal city.

[1] One of these gigantic sculptures may be seen at the end of Chapter III (p. 85).

Sculpture

Within, as a dado along the lower portion of the walls of corridors and halls, are hundreds of yards of reliefs[1] cut in alabaster, displaying the brave deeds of the Emperor in campaign and hunting field (Figs. 44, 45). The human figures are monotonously alike, hard and cold, but those of wild beasts are sometimes splendid in the abandon of animal ferocity which they display. The tiger was in the blood of the Assyrian and it here comes out in the work of his chisel. There was no art of portraiture in statue form as in Egypt.

Assyrian borrowing from abroad

To be sure, these great works were largely executed by foreign labor, for the emperors were obliged to depend not a little on foreign skill both in art and industries. With one exception all the patterns of their decorative art came from Egypt, and the finer work of their palace adornment and their furniture in ebony and ivory clearly betray Egyptian origin. The art of glazing the colored brick for the palace front, and all work in glass likewise, had been borrowed from Egypt (Fig. 48). Sennacherib frankly confesses that his craftsmen were very unskilled in making large bronze casts needed for his palace in Nineveh, and boasts that he himself personally overcame the difficulties. It is in this ability to use foreign resources that we must recognize one of the greatest traits of the Assyrian emperors. Thus Sennacherib tells us that he had in his palace "a portal made after the model of a Hittite palace."

Palace gardens

Earliest cotton

In the great gardens which he laid out along the river above and below Nineveh he planted unknown trees and strange plants from all quarters of his great empire. Among them were *cotton* trees,[2] of which he says, "The trees that bore wool they clipped and they carded it for garments." In this enterprise of an Assyrian king we thus see appearing for the first time in civilization the cotton which now furnishes so large a part of our own national wealth. Nor was such insight as the king showed

[1] A further example of such relief sculpture of the Assyrians shows us Assyrian horsemen hunting. See the headpiece of Chapter III (p. 56).

[2] This cotton *tree* was doubtless related to the lower-growing cotton plant of our Southern states.

in this matter wholly devoted to mere wealth, for higher interests were also cultivated and literature flourished.

Ashurbanipal's library

Modern excavation has uncovered the buildings of Ashurbanipal, Sennacherib's grandson at Nineveh, and here was found a great library of clay tablets. In this library the religious, scientific, and literary documents of past ages had been systematically collected by the Emperor's orders. His agents passed around among the ancient cities with authorization to take all the old writings they could find. These thousands on thousands of clay tablets arrayed on shelves formed the earliest library known in Asia, and represented an idea quite in advance of Babylonian civilization described above. The usual impression that Assyrian civilization was but an echo of Babylonian culture is very misleading. The Assyrians were far more advanced in these matters than the Babylonians.

Assyrian civilization not a mere echo of Babylonia

The fall of Assyria

Like many another later ruler, however, the Assyrian emperors made a profound mistake in policy. They destroyed the industrial and wealth-producing population, first within their own territory and then throughout the subject kingdoms.[1] In spite of interest in introducing a new textile like cotton, the Emperor did not or could not build up industries or commerce like those of Babylonia. The people were chiefly agricultural, and in the old days it had sufficed to call out levies of peasant militia to defend the frontiers. With the expansion of the Empire, however, such temporary bodies of troops were insufficient, and the peasants were *permanently called away from the fields* to fill the ranks of an ever-growing standing army. We discern disused canals and idle fields as we read of Sargon's efforts to restore the old farming communities. But even so the vast expansion of the Empire exceeds the power of the standing army to

Internal decay

Economic decline

[1] The fact that industries, agriculture, commerce, and wealth are historical forces of the first rank was first discerned by historians in the nineteenth century. The importance of these things in the career of a nation, however, was understood by some rulers as far back as the Egyptian Empire. It is therefore the more remarkable that historians should have been so long in discovering the power of such forces.

defend it. As reports of new revolts come in the harassed ruler at Nineveh commands the enforced service of militia from among the subjects of the foreign vassal kingdoms. To a larger and larger degree the imperial army thus becomes a medley of foreigners. With an army made up of foreigners to a dangerous extent, with no industries, with fields lying idle, and with the commerce of the country in the hands of the Aramean traders (p. 71), the Assyrian state fast loses its inner strength.

Foreign levies in the army

In addition to such weakness within, there were the most threatening dangers from without. These came, as of old, from both sides of the fertile crescent. Drifting in from the desert, as we have seen, the Aramean hordes were constantly absorbing the territory of the Empire. Sennacherib in one campaign took over two hundred thousand captives out of Babylonia, mostly Arameans. At the same time another desert tribe called the "Kaldi," whom we know as the Chaldeans, had been for centuries creeping slowly around the head of the Persian Gulf and settling along its shores at the foot of the eastern mountains.

Fall of Assyria: assaults from without

Chaldeans

On the other hand, in the northern mountains the advancing hordes of Indo-European peoples are in full view (see pp. 86 ff.). Their eastern wing, which has moved down the east side of the Caspian, fills the northeastern mountains, especially south of the Caspian; its leaders are the tribes of the Medes and Persians (see p. 92). These movements shake the Assyrian state to its foundations. The Chaldeans master Babylonia, and when in combination with the Median hosts from the northeastern mountains they assail the walls of Nineveh, the mighty city falls. In the voice of the Hebrew prophet Nahum[1] we hear an echo of the exulting shout which resounds from the Caspian to the Nile as the nations discover that the terrible scourge of the East has at last been laid low. Its fall was forever, and when two centuries later Xenophon and his ten thousand Greeks marched past the place (p. 211) the Assyrian nation was but a vague tradition, and Nineveh, its great city, was a vast heap of rubbish as it is to-day.

Indo-European peoples: Cimmerians and Scythians

Medes and Persians

Destruction of Nineveh

[1] Especially ii, 8–13, and iii entire.

Section 15. The Chaldean Empire: the Last Semitic Empire

Chaldeans and Medes divide the Assyrian Empire

With the fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.) we enter upon the third and final period of Semite power in western Asia[1] — a power which had begun over two thousand years earlier under Sargon of Akkad. The Kaldi, or Chaldeans, the new group of desert wanderers, now held possession of Babylonia. They made Babylon their capital and gave their name to the land, so that we now know it as "Chaldea" (from Kaldi). The whole mountain region of the north and on the east of the Tigris was at the same time in possession of the Medes (p. 93). The Chaldeans were therefore obliged to divide the Assyrian Empire with the Medes, and the Chaldean share was the south and west. But in order to hold their western possessions the Chaldeans were obliged to fight Egypt. The Chaldean crown prince Nebuchadnezzar[2] beat off Egypt, and thus Assyria was followed by Chaldean Babylon as lord of Syria and Palestine (605 B.C.).

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Egypt

Reign of Nebuchadnezzar

At Babylon Nebuchadnezzar now began a reign of over forty years — a reign of such power and magnificence, especially as reflected to us in the Bible, that he has become one of the great figures of oriental history. Exasperated by the obstinate revolts prompted by Egypt in the west, Nebuchadnezzar punished the western nations, especially the little Hebrew kingdom of Judah. He finally carried away many Hebrews as captives to Babylonia and destroyed Jerusalem, their capital (586 B.C.), having previously defeated the Egyptian army of relief, on which the Hebrews had depended.

[1] The three great ages of Semite power in western Asia are:

1. Early Babylonia (Sargon I about 2750 B.C., Hammurapi about 2100 B.C.; there was an interval of Sumerian power between these two great Semitic kings).
2. The Assyrian Empire (about 750 to 606 B.C.).
3. The Chaldean Empire (about 606 to 539 B.C.).

We might add a *fourth* period of Semite supremacy, the triumph of Islam in the seventh century A.D., after the death of Mohammed (sections 58–59).

[2] The monuments show that the real spelling of this name was "Nebuchadrezzar," but to avoid confusion the old Biblical spelling has been retained.

15
20
25
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35
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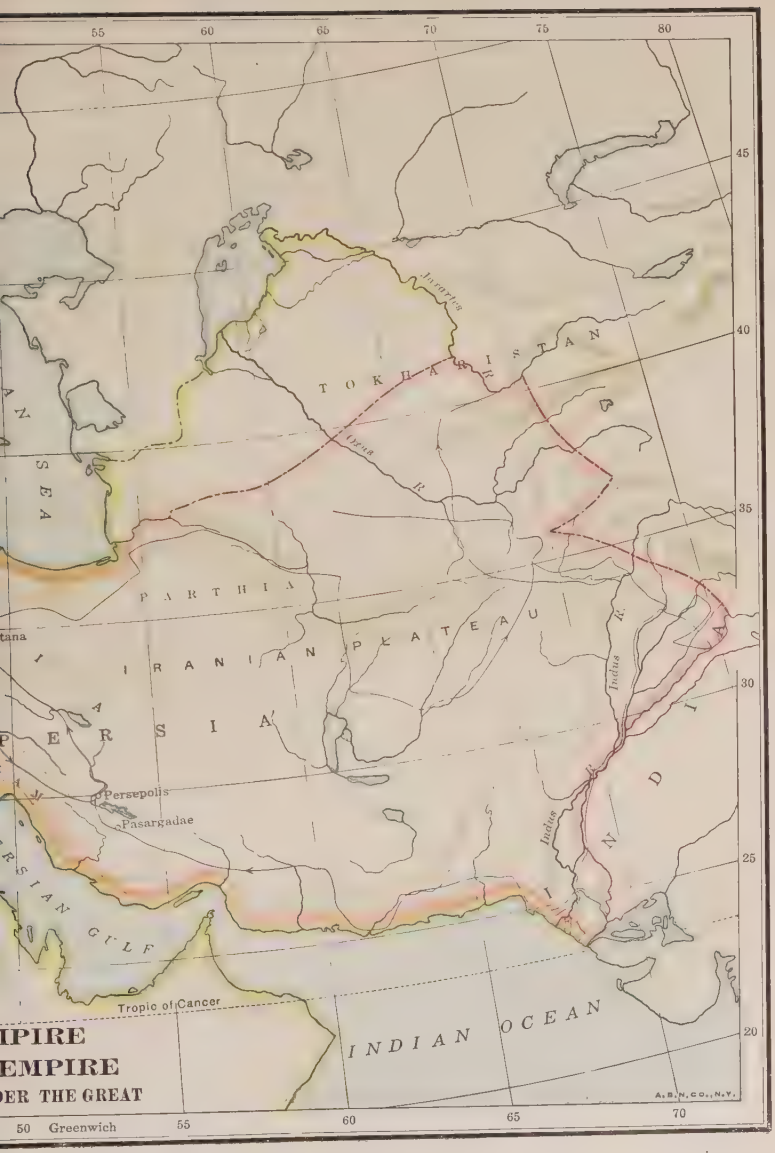
45
Balkan Pen.
BLACK SEA (PONTUS)
Danube
BALKAN MTS.
Byzantium
Bosporus
Troy
Pergamum
Sardis
Miletus
Boghaz-Köi
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
TAURUS MTS.
Tarsus
Antioch
Carchemish
Nineveh
Arbela
ASSYRIA
Assur
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Cyrene
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Samaria
Jerusalem
Babylon
Alexandria
Nile Delta
Naukratis
Memphis
Oasis of Siwa
Pen. of Sinai
SINAI MT.
RED SEA
LIBYA
AFRICA
ARABIA
Nile R.
Thebes
Aswan
SAHARA DESERT
Boundaries of Persian Empire
Boundaries of Alexander's Empire
Route of Alexander
SCALE
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 MILES
CHALDEA
MEDO-PERS
AND CONQUESTS OF A
Longitude 45 East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TOKHARISTAN
Jaxartes
Oxus R.
PARTHIA
IRANIAN PLATEAU
PERSIA
Persepolis
Pasargadae
Indus R.
Indus
INDIA
INDIAN OCEAN
Tropic of Cancer
IPIRE
EMPIRE
DER THE GREAT
A.S.N.CO.,N.Y.
50 Greenwich
55
60
65
70

Civilization of Chaldean Babylon; its magnificent buildings

In spite of long and serious wars the great king found time and wealth to devote to the enlargement and beautification of Babylon. Profiting by the example of the imperial architecture which had once adorned Nineveh (p. 76), Nebuchadnezzar was able to surpass his Assyrian predecessors in the splendor of the great buildings which he now erected. In the large temple quarter in the south of the city he rebuilt the temples of the

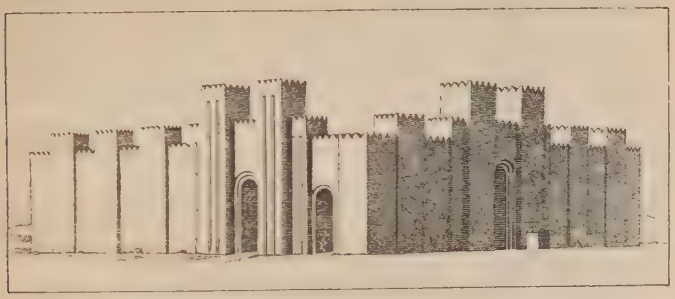


FIG. 46. RECONSTRUCTION OF A TEMPLE OF BABYLON IN THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE. (AFTER KOLDEWEY)

The building was of sun-baked brick; as the dwelling of a god, it shows the same architecture as the dwelling of man, and there was no advance over the architecture of the old Babylonian house (Fig. 38) of two thousand years earlier. In contrast with the Egyptian temples, it employed the arch over all doors and contained no colonnades. No such temple now stands in Babylon, and the drawing is a restoration

long-revered Babylonian divinities (Fig. 46). Leading from these to the palace he laid out a festival avenue[1] which passed through an imposing gateway called the "Gate of Ishtar" (Fig. 47), for it was dedicated to this goddess. Behind it lay the vast imperial palace and the offices of government, while high over all towered the temple-mount which rose by the Marduk temple as a veritable "Tower of Babel" (see p. 63). Masses of rich tropical verdure, rising in terrace upon terrace, forming a lofty garden,

[1] A lion of brilliant blue-glazed brick, discovered by the Germans in the Festival Street of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, will be found at the head of Chapter IV (p. 86).

Hanging gardens

crowned the roof of the imperial palace and, overlooking the Ishtar Gate, enhanced the brightness of its colors. Here in the cool shade of palms and ferns, inviting to rest and ease, the great king might enjoy an idle hour with the ladies of his court and look down upon the splendors of his city. These roof gardens of Nebuchadnezzar's palace are the mysterious "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon, whose fame spread far into the west until they were numbered by the Greeks among the Seven Wonders of the World.

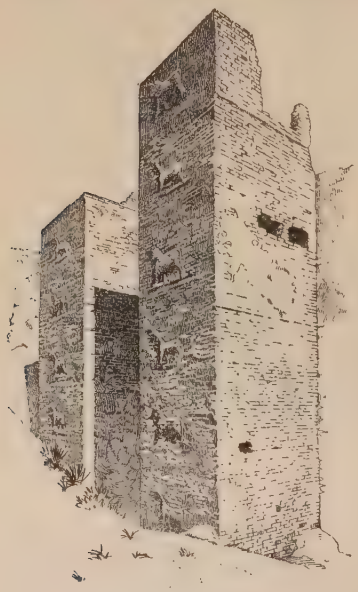


FIG. 47. THE ISHTAR GATE OF THE PALACE QUARTER OF BABYLON IN THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.)

This gate, recently excavated by the Germans, is the most important building still standing in Babylon. It is not a restoration like Fig. 46. The towers rising on either side of the gate are adorned with the figures of animals (see cut, p. 86) in splendidly colored glazed tile, as used also in the Assyrian palaces (Fig. 43). Behind this gate rose the sumptuous palace of Nebuchadnezzar, crowned by the beautiful roof gardens known as the "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon (p. 82)

It is this Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar whose marvels over a century later so impressed Herodotus (p. 188), as is shown in the description of it which he has left us. This, too, is the Babylon which has become familiar to all Christian peoples as the great city of the Hebrew captivity (p. 107). Of all the glories which made it world renowned in its time, little now remains. The excavations of the Germans, who have been uncovering the city since 1899, are slowly revealing one building after

another, the scanty wreckage of the ages. To them we owe the recovery of the Festival Street and the Ishtar Gate (Fig. 47), but the Ishtar Gate is practically the only building in all Babylonia of which any impressive remains survive. Elsewhere the broken fragments of dingy sun-baked brick walls suggest little of the brilliant life which once ebbed and flowed through these streets and public places.

FIG. 48. GLASS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. FOUND IN CHALDEAN BABYLON

The art of glazing and glassmaking, so extensively used in adorning Assyrian and Chaldean buildings, was not native to Asia, but arose far earlier on the Nile (see p. 36, and cut, p. 16). Thus, for example, the glass bottle shown here is of a shape and pattern borrowed by the Babylonians from Egypt. At this time exactly the same pattern of bottle was being used also in north Italy, which likewise received it from Egypt

The Chaldeans seem to have absorbed the civilization of Babylonia in much the same way as other earlier Semitic invaders of this ancient plain. Commerce and business flourished, the arts and industries were highly developed, religion and literature were cultivated and their records were put into wedge-writing on clay tablets as of old. Science made notable progress in one important branch — astronomy. Still with the practical purpose of reading the future rather than of furthering science, the Babylonians continued the ancient art of discovering the future in

the heavenly bodies (see p. 68). The art was now very systematically pursued and was really becoming astronomy. The equator was divided into 360 degrees, and for the first time they laid out and mapped the twelve groups of stars which we call the "Twelve Signs of the Zodiac." Thus for the first time the sky and its worlds were mapped out into a system.

Origin of names of the planets

The five planets then known (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) were especially regarded as the powers controlling the fortunes of men, and as such the five leading Babylonian divinities were identified with these five heavenly bodies. It is the names of these Babylonian divinities which, in Roman translation, have descended to us as the names of these five planets. So the planet of Ishtar, the goddess of love, became Venus, while that of the great god Marduk became Jupiter, and so on. The celestial observations made by these Chaldean "astrologers," as we call them, slowly became sufficiently accurate, so that when inherited by the Greeks they formed the basis of the science of astronomy, which the Greeks carried so much further (p. 162). The practice of "astrology" has survived to our own day; we still unconsciously recall it in such phrases as "his lucky star" or an "ill-starred undertaking."

The oriental renaissance

This Chaldean age is in many respects an effort to restore the civilization of the earlier Babylonia of Hammurapi's day (pp. 67–69). The scribes now love to employ an ancient style of writing and out-of-date forms of speech; the kings tunnel deep under the temple foundations and search for years that they may find the old foundation records buried (like our corner-stone documents) by kings of ancient days. Likewise in Egypt and among the Hebrews, as well as in Babylonia, the men of the East are deeply conscious of the distant past through which their ancestors have come down through the ages. The oriental world is growing old, and men are looking back upon her far-away youth with wistful endeavors to restore it to the earth again. Indeed, the leadership of the Semitic peoples in the early world is drawing near its close, and they are about to give way before the advance of the Indo-European race, to which we must now turn.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 10. Give the water boundaries of westernmost Asia. Where do desert and mountains chiefly lie? What lies between them? Summarize the history of the fertile crescent. Make a sketch map showing its situation. What land occupied its east end? its west end?

What is a "nomad"? Mention some Semitic peoples. Whither does the wandering desert tribe often shift? Do you recall any Semites who have so shifted? Describe the nomads' life; their religion. Describe the Babylonian plain, giving size, climate, and products.

SECTION 11. Describe Sumerian civilization and invasion of the Babylonian plain. What do we call the earliest age of Sumerian history?

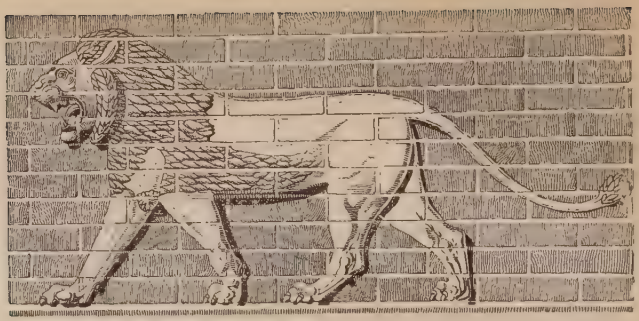
Who were the earliest Semites in Babylonia? Give an account of their first great leader. How did these Semites gain their earliest civilization, for example, writing? Did Sumerian and Semite mingle?

SECTION 12. Who was Hammurapi? Give an account of his laws. Describe Babylonian commerce in his age. How can we summarize Babylonian history?

SECTION 13. Locate Assyria on the fertile crescent. Whence did its people receive their civilization? What stopped early Assyrian expansion westward? Who were the Arameans? Where was their capital?

SECTION 14. What did the Assyrian Empire at its largest chiefly include? Describe the Assyrian state; the army. Give some account of Assyrian civilization. Outline the causes of the fall of Assyria.

SECTION 15. Who were the Chaldeans? Who were the Medes? How did they divide the East between them? Describe Chaldean Babylon; its chief buildings. Discuss Chaldean astronomy.



CHAPTER IV

WESTERN ASIA: THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, THE HEBREWS

Section 16. The Indo-European Peoples and their Dispersion[1]

The northern grasslands

We have seen that the Arabian desert has been a great reservoir of unsettled population, which was continually leaving the grasslands on the margin of the desert and shifting over into the towns to begin a settled life (pp. 57 f.). Corresponding to these grasslands of the *south*, there are similar grasslands in the *north* (Fig. 49), behind the mountains of western Asia and southern Europe (see map, p. 80). These northern grasslands stretch from central Europe, behind the Balkans, eastward along the north side of the Black Sea through southern Russia and far into Asia north and east of the Caspian. They have always had a wandering shepherd population, and time after time, for

[1] Section 16 deals with a series of racial movements which anticipate a large part of ancient history. They are at first not easy for a young student to visualize. They should therefore be carefully worked over by the teacher with the class before the class is permitted to study this section alone. The diagram (Fig. 49) should be put on the blackboard and explained in detail by the teacher, and the class should then be prepared to put the diagram on the board from memory. This should be done again when the study of the Greeks is begun (p. 123), and a third time when Italy and the Romans are taken up.

thousands of years, these northern nomads have poured forth over Europe and western Asia, just as the desert Semites of the south have done over the fertile crescent (pp. 59 ff.).

The two lines — Indo-European and Semitic

These nomads of the north were from the earliest times a great white race, which we call *Indo-European*. We can perhaps best explain this term by saying that the present peoples of Europe are almost all Indo-European, and as most of us are of the same stock their ancestors were also ours, as we shall see. These nomads of the *northern* grasslands, our ancestors, began to migrate in very ancient times, moving out along diverging routes. They at last extended in an imposing line from the frontiers of India on the east, westward across all Europe to the Atlantic, as they do to-day (Fig. 49). This great northern line was confronted on the south by a similar line of Semitic peoples, extending from Babylonia on the east, through Phœnicia and the Hebrews westward to Carthage and similar Semitic settlements of Phœnicia in the western Mediterranean.

The history of the ancient world, as we are now to follow it, is largely made up of the struggle between this *southern Semitic* line which issued from the southern grasslands, and the *northern Indo-European* line which came forth from the northern grasslands to confront the older civilizations represented in the southern line. Thus as we look at the diagram (Fig. 49) we see the two great races facing each other across the Mediterranean like two vast armies stretching from western Asia westward to the Atlantic. The later wars between Rome and Carthage (pp. 258 ff.) represent some of the operations on the Semitic left wing; while the triumph of Persia over Chaldea (p. 97) is a similar outcome on the Semitic right wing.

Triumph of the European end of the Indo-European line

The result of the imposing struggle was the complete triumph of our ancestors, the Indo-European line, which conquered along the center and both wings and gained unchallenged supremacy throughout the Mediterranean world under the Greeks and Romans (pp. 123 ff.). This triumph was accompanied by a long struggle for the mastery between the members of the northern

line themselves, as first the Persians, then the Greeks, and finally the Romans, gained control of the Mediterranean and oriental world. The great civilized peoples of Europe at the present day are, as we have said, the offspring of the victorious Indo-European line. These Indo-European peoples are also the forefathers of the American colonists, who with later immigrants now make up the people of the United States.[1]

The Indo-European parent people and their original home

Let us now turn back to a time before the Indo-European people had left their grasslands and see if we can find their original home. Modern study has not yet determined with certainty the exact region where the parent people of the Indo-European nomads had their home. The indications now are that this original home was on the great grassy steppe in the region east and northeast of the Caspian Sea.[2] Here, then, probably lived the parent people of all the later Indo-European race. At the time when they were still one people, they were speaking one and the same tongue. From this tongue have descended all the languages later spoken by the civilized peoples of modern Europe, including, of course, our own English, as we shall see.

The parent people were still in the Stone Age for the most part, though copper was beginning to come in, and the time

[1] Although our Indo-European ancestors gained full control of the Mediterranean world, we shall find that the final result was nevertheless a mixed civilization, containing many things of Semitic and oriental origin. Especially was this true in religion, for the great religions of the modern world, especially Christianity, are of oriental origin.

[2] There has been great difference of opinion regarding the original home of this parent people, from whom we ourselves have descended. The whole question was opened only fifty years ago, when scholars mostly maintained that the central *Asiatic* plateau was the earliest home of the parent people. Later researches led most scholars to believe in a central or northern *European* home of these people. This is still the prevailing opinion. But the recent discovery of documents in the Tokhar language, spoken by the tribes of old Tokharistan along the upper valley of the Jaxartes River far east of the Caspian Sea, has shown that Tokhar was an Indo-European language. This discovery of an Indo-European language so far *east* has made the theory of a European home of the parent people almost impossible and an Asiatic home much more probable. Its *exact* situation in Asia is, however, still uncertain.

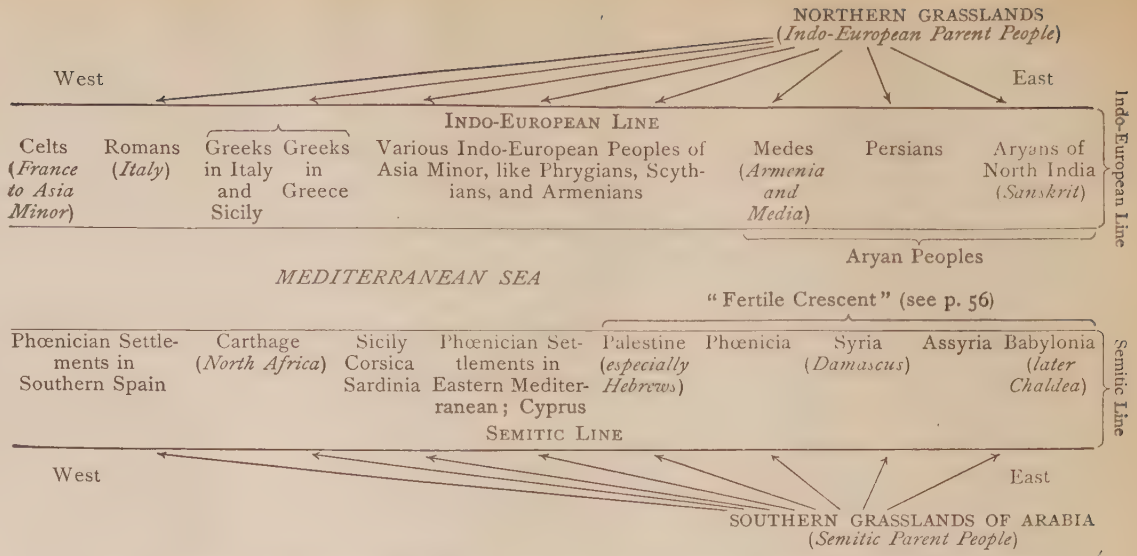


FIG. 49. DIAGRAM SUGGESTING THE TWO LINES OF SEMITIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN DISPERSION

The actual lines along which these peoples lie are of course not straight. The lines sometimes overlie each other, as in Sicily, mentioned in both lines. Egypt, which geographically belongs in the southern line, has been omitted because it is not purely Semitic, although closely related to the Semites. On the Aryan group at the east end of the Indo-European line, see p. 91. Notice also that in the west the two races face each other for the most part across the Mediterranean; in the east they confront each other along the "fertile crescent" (p. 56)

Civilization of the Indo-European parent people

must therefore have been not later than 2500 B.C. Divided into numerous tribes, they wandered at will, seeking pasture for their flocks, for they already possessed domestic animals, including cattle and sheep. But chief among their domesticated beasts was the *horse*, which, as we recall, was still entirely unknown to the civilized oriental nations until after Hammurapi's time (see p. 69). They employed him not only for riding but also for drawing their wheeled carts, and from these northern nomads has descended the widespread story of the chariot and the horses of the sun. The ox already bore the yoke and drew the plow, for some of the tribes had adopted a settled mode of life and possessed fields in which they cultivated grain, especially barley. Being without writing, they possessed but little government and organization. But they were the most gifted and the most highly imaginative people of the ancient world.

The dispersion of the Indo-European parent people

As their tribes wandered farther and farther apart they lost contact with each other. Local peculiarities in speech and customs became more and more marked, until wide differences resulted. While at first the different groups could doubtless understand one another when they met, these differences in speech gradually became so great that the widely scattered tribes, even if they happened to meet, could no longer make themselves understood, and finally all knowledge of their original kinship was totally lost. This kinship has only been rediscovered in very recent times. The final outcome, in so far as speech was concerned, was the languages of modern civilized Europe; so that, beginning with England, we can trace many a word from people to people entirely across Europe and eastward into northern India. Note the following:

English	German	Latin	Greek	Old Persian and Avestan	Tokhar (in Central Asia) (See footnote, p. 88)	East Indian (Sanskrit)
brother	bruder	frater	phratēr	brata	pracar	bhrātā
mother	mutter	mater	mētēr	matar	macar	mātā
father	vater	pater	patēr	pitar	pacar	pitā

In the west these wanderers from the northern grasslands had already crossed the Danube and were far down in the Balkan peninsula by 2000 B.C. Some of them had doubtless already entered Italy by this time. These western tribes were, of course, the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans. We shall yet join them and follow them in their conquest of the Mediterranean (pp. 123ff.). Before doing so, however, we have to watch the *eastern* wing of the vast Indo-European line as it swings southward and comes into collision with the right wing of the Semitic line.

Section 17. The Aryan Peoples and the Iranian Prophet Zoroaster

The Aryans; the advance of the eastern wing of the Indo-European line

It is now an established fact that the easternmost tribes of the Indo-European line were by 2000 B.C. already pasturing their herds in the great steppe on the east of the Caspian. Here they formed a people properly called the Aryans[1] (see Fig. 49) and here they made their home for some time. The Aryan people had no writing, and they have left no monuments. Nevertheless the beliefs of their descendants show that the Aryan tribes already possessed a high form of religion, which summed up conduct as "good thoughts, good deeds." Fire occupied an important place in this faith, and they had a group of priests whom they called "fire-kindlers."

Religion

Aryans separate into two groups

When the Aryans broke up, perhaps about 1800 B.C., they separated into two parts. The eastern tribes wandered southeastward and eventually arrived in India. In their sacred books,

[1] The Indo-European parent people apparently had no common name applicable to all their tribes as a great group. The term "Aryan" is often popularly applied to the parent people, but this custom is incorrect. Aryan (from which Iran and Iranian are later derivatives) designated a group of tribes, a fragment of the parent people, which detached itself and found a home for some centuries just east of the Caspian Sea. When we hear the term "Aryan" applied to the Indo-European peoples of Europe, or when it is said that we ourselves are descended from the Aryans, we must remember that this use of the word is historically incorrect, though very common. The Aryans, then, were *eastern* descendants of the Indo-European parent people as we are *western* descendants of the parent people. The Aryans are our distant cousins but not our ancestors.

1, Sanskrit-speaking tribes in India

which we call the "Vedas," written in Sanskrit, there are echoes of the days of Aryan unity, and they furnish many a hint of the ancient Aryan home on the east of the Caspian. The other group, whose tribes have kept the name "Aryan" in the form "Iran,"[1] also left this home and pushed westward and southwestward into the mountains bordering our fertile crescent (p. 58). Among them were two powerful tribes, the Medes and the Persians.

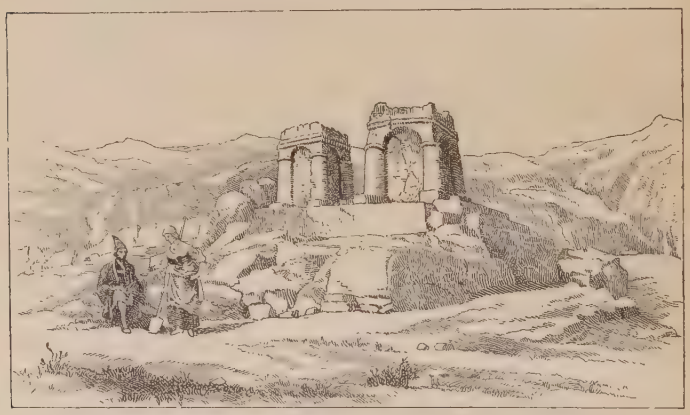


FIG. 50. FIRE ALTARS OF ANCIENT FIRE WORSHIPERS STILL SURVIVING IN MODERN PERSIA

2, Medes and Persians further west toward the fertile crescent

About 2100 B.C., in the age of Hammurapi, long before they reached the fertile crescent, their coming was announced in advance by the arrival of the horse in Babylonia (see p. 69). We recall how in the days of Assyria's imperial power, nearly fifteen hundred years later, the Medes descended from the northern mountains against Nineveh (p. 79). This southern advance of the Indo-European eastern wing was thus overwhelming the Semitic right wing (Fig. 49), occupying the fertile crescent.

[1] They have given their name to the great Iranian plateau, which stretches from the Zagros Mountains eastward to the Indus River. This whole region was known in Greek and Roman days as Ariana, which (like Iran) is, of course, derived from "Aryan."

The Median (Indo-European) Empire threatens Chaldean (Semitic) Babylonia

By 600 B.C. the Medes had established a powerful Iranian Empire in the mountains east of the Tigris. It extended from the Persian Gulf, where it included the Persians, northwestward in the general line of the mountains to the Black Sea region. The front of the Indo-European eastern wing is thus roughly parallel with the Tigris at this point, but its advance is not to stop here. Nebuchadnezzar (p. 80) and the Chaldean masters of Babylon look with anxious eyes at this dangerous Median power. The Chaldeans on the Euphrates represent the leadership of men of Semitic blood from the *southern* pastures. Their leadership is now to be followed by that of the men of Indo-European blood from the *northern* pastures. As we see the Chaldeans giving way before the Medes and Persians (p. 97), let us bear in mind that we are watching a great racial change, and remember that these new Persian masters of the Far East are our kindred; for both we and they have descended from the same wandering shepherd ancestors, the Indo-European parent people, who once dwelt in the far-off pastures of inner Asia, probably five thousand years ago.

The religion of the Iranians

Zoroaster

All of these Iranians possessed a beautiful religion inherited from old Aryan days (see p. 91). Somewhere in the eastern mountains, as far back as 1000 B.C., an Iranian named Zoroaster[1] began to look out upon the life of men in an effort to find a religion which would meet its needs. He watched the ceaseless struggle between good and evil which seemed to meet him wherever he turned. To him it seemed to be a struggle between a group of good beings on the one hand and of evil beings on the other. The Good became to him a divine person,

[1] The Greek form of the name; it is taken from the Persian form *Zarathushtra*. Some scholars support a date for Zoroaster several centuries later than 1000 B.C., among them Professor A. V. W. Jackson, in his very valuable book on Zoroaster; but two proper names of certain royal Medes, occurring in the records of the Assyrian Sargon (722–705 B.C.), have the form "Mazdaka," containing the name of Zoroaster's god. His teaching had therefore been taken up by the Median royal house long before 700 B.C., and Zoroaster himself must therefore have lived far earlier than this. The date 1000 B.C. is a rough estimate by **Eduard Meyer.**

His gods

whom he called Mazda, or Ahuramazda, and whom he regarded as God. Ahuramazda was surrounded by a group of helpers much like angels, of whom one of the greatest was the Light, called "Mithras." Opposed to Ahuramazda and his helpers was the evil group, among whom the Spirit of Evil and another of Darkness were prominent.

Judgment hereafter

Thus the faith of Zoroaster grew up out of the struggle of life itself, and became a great power in life. It called upon every man to stand on one side or the other; to fill his soul with the Good and the Light, or to dwell in the Evil and the Darkness. Whatever course a man pursued he must expect a judgment hereafter. As a visible symbol of the Good and the Light, Zoroaster maintained the old Aryan veneration of fire (Fig. 50), and he preserved the ancient fire-kindling priests.

Prominence of fire

Zoroaster preaches his new religion

Zoroaster went about among the Iranian people preaching his new religion, and probably for many years found but sluggish response to his efforts. We can discern his hopes and fears alike in the little group of hymns he has left, probably the only words of the great prophet which have survived. It is characteristic of the horse-loving Iranians that Zoroaster is said to have finally converted one of their great kings by miraculously healing the king's crippled horse. The new faith had gained a firm footing before the prophet's death, however, and before 700 B.C. it was the leading religion among the Medes in the mountains along the fertile crescent. Thus Zoroaster became the first great founder of a religious faith.

Success of the new religion

The *Avesta*, the Persian Bible

As in the case of Mohammed, it is probable that Zoroaster could neither read nor write, for the Iranians seem to have possessed no system of writing in his day (see p. 91). With the exception of the hymns mentioned above, we possess none of his original words; but his teaching has descended to us in certain fragments of older writings put together in the early Christian centuries, over one thousand years after the prophet's death. They form a book known as the *Avesta*. This we may call the Bible of the Persians, in whose tongue the book is written.

Section 18. The Persian Empire

The emergence of the Persians

No people became more zealous followers of Zoroaster than the Persians. Through them a knowledge of him has descended to us. At the fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.) (p. 79) they were already long settled in the region at the southeastern end of the Zagros Mountains, just north of the Persian Gulf. The northern shores of the Persian Gulf are little better than desert, but the valleys of the mountainous hinterland are rich and fertile. Here the group of Iranian tribes known as the Persians occupied a district some four hundred miles long. They were a rude mountain peasant folk, leading a settled agricultural life, with simple institutions, no art, no writing or literature, but with stirring memories of their past, including some grand sagas which had come down from the distant

Fig. 51. Persian Soldiers

Although carrying spears when doing duty as palace guards, these men were chiefly archers (p. 96), as is shown by the size of the large quivers on their backs for containing the supply of arrows. The bow hangs on the left shoulder. The royal bodyguard may also be seen wielding their spears around the Persian king at the battle of Issus (Fig. 99). Notice the splendid robes worn by these palace guards. The figures are done in brightly colored glazed brick — an art borrowed by the Persians (see Fig. 48)

Aryan days. As they tilled their fields and watched their flocks they told many a tale of the ancient prophet who had died four hundred years before, and whose faith they held.

Cyrus of Anshan organizes the Persian tribes into a nation and conquers the Medes

They acknowledged themselves vassals of their kinsmen the Medes, who ruled far to the north and northwest of them. One of their tribes dwelling in the mountains of Elam (see map, p. 56), a tribe known as Anshan, was organized as a little kingdom. About fifty years after the fall of Nineveh, this little kingdom was ruled over by a Persian named Cyrus. He succeeded in uniting the other tribes of his kindred Persians into a nation. Thereupon Cyrus at once rebelled against the rule of the Medes. He gathered his peasant soldiery, and within three years he defeated the Median king and made himself master of the Median territory. The extraordinary career of Cyrus was now a spectacle upon which all eyes in the west were fastened with wonder and alarm. The overflowing energies of the new conqueror and his peasant soldiery, fresh and unspent for centuries among their eastern hills, proved irresistible. The Persian peasants seem to have been remarkable archers, and the mass of the Persian army was made up of bowmen (Fig. 51) whose storm of arrows at long range overwhelmed the enemy long before the hand-to-hand fighting began. Bodies of the skillful Persian horsemen, hovering on either wing, then rode in and completed the destruction of the foe.

The Persian army

Cyrus against the west

The great states Babylonia (Chaldea), Egypt, Lydia under King Crœsus in western Asia Minor, and even Sparta in Greece formed a powerful combination against this sudden menace, which had risen like the flash of a meteor in the eastern sky. Without an instant's delay Cyrus struck at Crœsus of Lydia, the chief author of the hostile combination. One Persian victory followed after another. By 546 B.C. Sardis, the Lydian capital, had fallen and Crœsus, the Lydian king, was a prisoner in the hands of Cyrus. Cyrus at once gained also the southern coasts of Asia Minor. Within five years the power of the little Persian kingdom in the mountains of Elam had swept across Asia Minor to the

Cyrus master of the west

Mediterranean, becoming the leading state in the oriental world.

Cyrus conquers Babylonia (Chaldea)

Turning eastward again, Cyrus had no trouble in defeating the army of Babylonia led by the young Belshazzar, whose name in the Book of Daniel is a household word throughout the Christian world. In 539 B.C. the Persians entered the great city of Babylon seemingly without resistance. Thus only sixty-seven years after the fall of Nineveh (p. 79) had opened the conflict between the former dwellers in the northern and the southern grasslands, the Semitic East completely collapsed before the advance of the Indo-European power. Some ten years later Cyrus fell in battle (528 B.C.) as he was fighting with the nomads in northeastern Iran.

FIG. 52. COLONNADES OF THE PERSIAN PALACE AT PERSEPOLIS

This sumptuous and ornate architecture of the Persians is made up of patterns borrowed from other peoples and combined (see p. 99)

All western Asia was now subject to the Persian king; but in 525 B.C., only three years after the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses conquered Egypt. This conquest of the only remaining ancient oriental power rounded out the Persian Empire to include the whole civilized East. The great task had consumed just twenty-five years since the overthrow of the Medes by Cyrus.

Cambyses conquers Egypt

The Persian Empire (about 530 to 330 B.C.)

The rude simplicity of the Persian kings now rapidly gave way to the more civilized life of the conquered states. The Persian scribes were soon writing their own language with Babylonian cuneiform (p. 62), from which they adopted thirty-six signs as an alphabet. Darius recorded his triumph over all his foes at home and abroad in a vast inscription in cuneiform on the great cliff of Behistun looking down upon the ancient highway leading from Babylon to Ecbatana; but the king's office documents were written on parchment with the Aramean alphabet (see p. 71).

Persians adopt cuneiform and Aramean writing

Organization of the Persian Empire by Darius

The organization of such a vast empire, stretching from the Indus to the Ægean Sea, had been too big a task to be completed by Cyrus. It was carried through by Darius the Great (521–485 B.C.). He did not desire further conquests, but he planned to maintain the Empire as he had inherited it. He caused himself to be made actual king in Egypt and in Babylonia, but the rest of the Empire he divided into twenty provinces, each called a "satrapy," each being under a governor called a "satrap," who was appointed by the Great King. The Persian rule was just, humane, and intelligent, but of course tribute was collected from all parts of the Empire.

Coinage

In the West, chiefly Lydia and the Greek settlements in western Asia Minor (p. 127), where the coinage of metal was common by 600 B.C. (p. 152), this tribute was paid in coined money. The eastern countries — Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia herself — were not quick to adopt this new convenience. Here during most of the Persian period commerce was content to employ gold and silver in bars which could be cut up and weighed out at each payment (p. 67). Darius, however, began the coinage of gold and permitted his satraps to coin silver. The rate was about thirteen to one, that is to say, gold was worth about thirteen times as much as silver. Thus the great commercial convenience of coined money issued by the State began to come into the Orient during the Persian period.

The Persian kings fostered business and commerce, maintained excellent roads from end to end of the great Empire, and

introduced royal messengers along these roads, who formed the beginnings of a postal system. These roads converged upon the royal residence in the ancient Elamite city of Susa, in the Zagros Mountains, where the king lived much of the time. The mild air of the Babylonian plain attracted him during the colder months, when he went to dwell among the palaces of the vanished Chaldean Empire at Babylon. The old Persian home of the Great King lay too far from the centers of oriental civilization for him to spend much time in Persia. But Cyrus built a splendid palace near the battle field where he had defeated the Medes at Pasargadæ, and Darius also established a new residence at Persepolis (Fig. 52), some twenty miles south of the palace of Cyrus. Near the ruins of these buildings the tombs of Cyrus, Darius, and other great Persian kings still stand (Fig. 53). The art of these buildings is made up of elements borrowed from the great oriental civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. The enormous terraces on which they stood suggested Babylonia; the vast colonnades which swept along the front were more rich and sumptuous than the East had ever seen before, but they showed the influence of Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor. The great civilizations which made up the Empire were thus merged together in Persian art.

Commerce, roads, postal system

Royal residences

Tombs of the Persian kings

Architecture

The later world often represents the Persian kings as cruel and barbarous oriental tyrants. This unfavorable opinion goes too far. Such impressions have descended to us from the Greeks, who thrust back the Persians from Europe (p. 177). The Persian kings were fully conscious of their great mission as civilizing rulers. This is shown when Darius finds Scylax, a skillful sea captain who had learned navigation along the shores of Asia Minor, and dispatches him to explore the course of the great Indus River in India. Then he is ordered to sail along the coast of Asia from the mouth of the Indus westward to the Isthmus of Suez. Here Darius restores the ancient but long filled-up canal of the Egyptians connecting the Nile with the Red Sea (p. 33). It was thus possible in Persian times for Mediterranean

Character of the Persian kings

commerce to pass up the Nile and through the Red Sea to India. Darius also cherished what proved to be a vain hope, that the south coast of Persia might come to share in the now growing commerce between India and the Mediterranean world. Although proud of their mastery of the world, the Persian kings felt a deep sense of obligation to rule the nations of the earth in accordance with the Good and the Right which Ahuramazda personified.

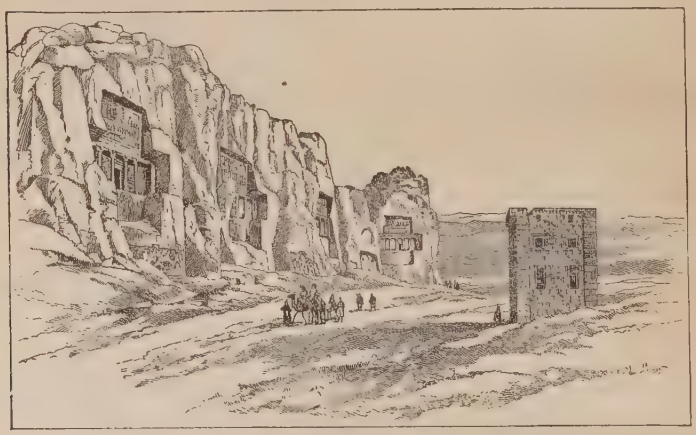


FIG. 53. THE TOMBS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

The fronts of the tombs are carved in the cliffs at the left. They begin with the tomb of Darius, about 500 B.C. The tomb of Cyrus (in the vicinity) is a detached stone structure not shown here. The detached building on the right has nothing to do with the tombs

Unfortunately, as time passed, the Persian kings grew more and more inefficient and unsuccessful as rulers.

Spread of Persian religion

The Persian rulers were devoted followers of Zoroaster's teaching and felt keenly the sharp line which that faith drew between good and bad. The Persian power carried this noble faith throughout western Asia and especially into Asia Minor. It had here the form which it gradually came to take under the later Persian kings. In this form Mithras, made by Zoroaster a helper of Ahuramazda (p. 94), appears as a hero of light, and

finally a sun god, who gradually outshines Ahuramazda himself. From Asia Minor Mithras passed into Europe, and, as we shall see, the faith in the mighty Persian god spread far and wide through the Roman Empire, to become a dangerous competitor of Christianity (p. 298).

Far-reaching competition among oriental religions

In matters of religion the Persian Empire marked the breakdown of national boundaries and the beginning of a long period when the leading religions of the East were called upon to compete in a great contest for the mastery among all the nations. The most important of the religions which thus found themselves thrown into a world struggle for chief place under the dominion of Persia was the religion of the Hebrews. While we leave the imperial family of Persia to suffer that slow decline which always besets a long royal line in the Orient, we may glance briefly at the little Hebrew kingdom among the Persian vassals in the West, which was destined to influence the history of the world more profoundly than any of the great imperial powers of the early world.

Section 19. The Hebrews

The Hebrew invasion of Palestine (about 1400 to 1200 B.C.)

The Hebrews were all originally men of the Arabian desert,[1] wandering with their flocks and herds and slowly drifting over into their final home in Palestine, at the west end of the fertile crescent (p. 56). For two centuries their movement into Palestine continued (about 1400 to 1200 B.C.). When they entered it as nomad shepherds (see p. 59), the Hebrews possessed very little civilization. A southern group of their tribes had been slaves in Egypt,[2] but had been induced to flee by their

[1] The student should here carefully reread the account of the Arabian desert and the Semitic nomads, their life, customs, and religion, on pages 57–60. It was from this desert and its life that the Hebrews all originally came.

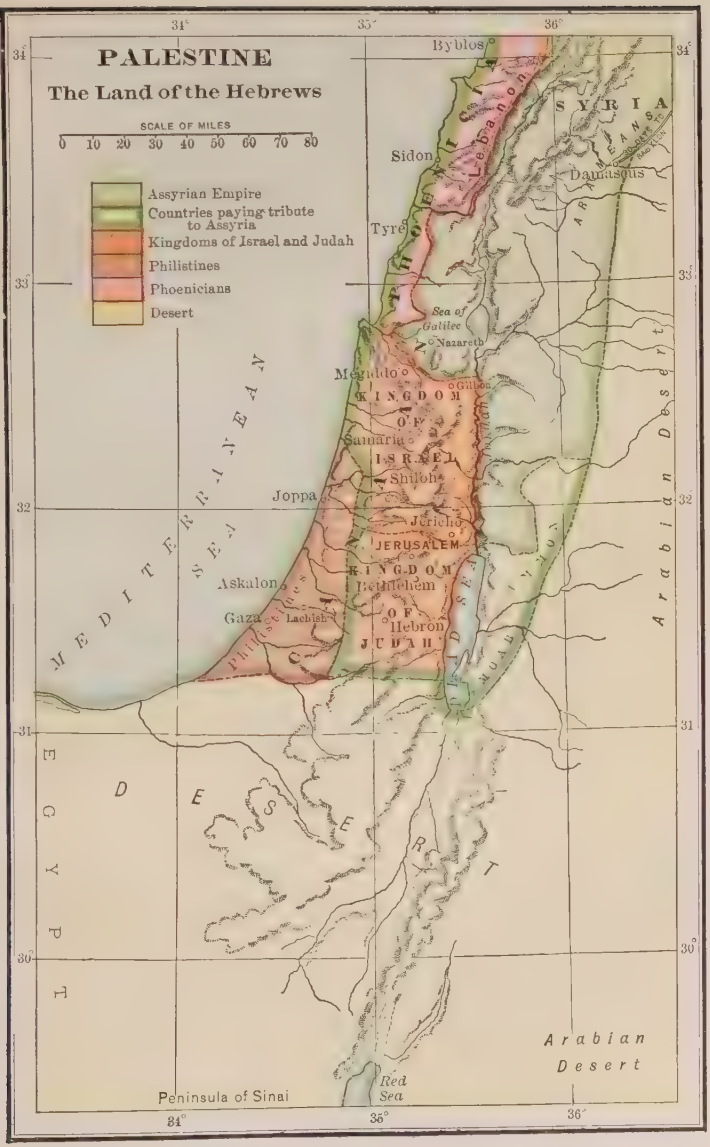
[2] The familiar Bible stories of the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt and the making of brick, which they did there, are interestingly illustrated by the brick storehouse rooms still standing in the eastern Nile Delta in the city of Pithom, which the Hebrews are said to have built (Exod. i, 12). They are shown at the end of Chapter IV (p. 110).

heroic leader Moses, who led them to Palestine. Here they found flourishing towns of the Canaanites (p. 59), who had long been settled in Palestine. The Canaanites also had once come from the desert; they spoke a language hardly differing from Hebrew. But they had so long led a settled life that their towns were protected by massive walls (Figs. 55, 56). The camel caravans which entered their gates brought in merchandise both from the Nile and the Euphrates. There was here, therefore, a

FIG. 54. THE CENTRAL RIDGE OF PALESTINE SEEN FROM THE PLAIN OF JERICHO

Palestine is much cut up by such bare and sterile ridges of limestone, which produce nothing. Locate on map, p. 102; see Fig. 55

jumble of civilization from both these rivers. The Canaanites had learned from Egypt the manufacture of many valuable articles of commerce; from Babylonia the caravans had brought in bills and lists on clay tablets, and the Canaanites had thus learned to use Babylonian cuneiform writing (p. 62). The Hebrews were unable to destroy the Canaanites and their walled towns. They settled on the land around such towns and slowly mingled with the Canaanites until the two peoples, Hebrew and Canaanite, had become one. This process was of great advantage to the Hebrews, who thus gained the civilization of the Canaanites.


PALESTINE
The Land of the Hebrews
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Assyrian Empire
Countries paying tribute to Assyria
Kingdoms of Israel and Judah
Philistines
Phoenicians
Desert
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
SYRIA
Damascus
Sea of Galilee
Nazareth
Megiddo
Gilboa
KINGDOM OF ISRAEL
Samaria
Shiloh
Joppa
Jericho
JERUSALEM
KINGDOM OF JUDAH
Bethlehem
Hebron
Askalon
Gaza
Lachish
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Arabian Desert
DESERT
Peninsula of Sinai
Red Sea
Arabian Desert
31°
34°
35°
36°
33°
32°
30°

Rise of the Hebrew kingdom (about 1025 to 930 B.C.)

The situation of Palestine, with Egypt on one side and Assyria and Babylonia on the other, was a dangerous one. These great powers would not allow another strong nation to grow up in Palestine. Fortunately for the Hebrews, Egypt, as we have learned, fell into a state of feebleness by 1150 B.C. (p. 53); and, on the other side, the Aramean kingdom of Damascus was a protection against the advance of Assyria (p. 71). Thus the Hebrews were permitted to grow into a nation, and before 1000 B.C. we find them under their first king, Saul. But immigrants from Crete in the Mediterranean — a people called

Saul and the Philistines

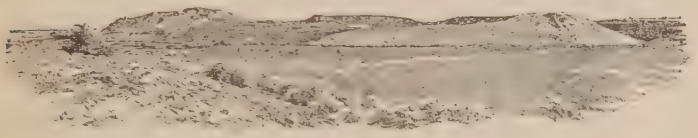


FIG. 55. THE LONG MOUND OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF JERICHO

The walls of the city and the ruins of the houses (Fig. 56) are buried under the rubbish which makes up this mound. Many of the ancient cities of Palestine are now such mounds as this

"Philistines" (Fig. 70) — had recently settled on the coast of Palestine (see map, p. 102). From their new home they greatly troubled the Hebrews. They slew Saul and in one war after another they nearly destroyed the young Hebrew nation.

David

The old nomad customs were still strong, for Saul, the first king, had no fixed home but dwelt in a tent. His successor, David, saw the importance of a strong castle as the king's permanent home. He therefore seized the old Canaanite fortress of Jerusalem. The Hebrews had been dwelling under its shadow for centuries, unable to take it from the Canaanites. From Jerusalem, as his residence, David extended his power far and wide and made the Hebrews a strong nation. His people never forgot his heroic deeds as a warrior nor his skill as a poet and singer, and centuries later they revered him as the author of many of their religious songs or "psalms."

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B.C.)

Solomon, David's son, delighted in oriental luxury and showy display. He weighed down the Hebrews with heavy taxes. The discontent was so great that, under Solomon's son, Rehoboam, the ten northern tribes withdrew from the nation and set up a king of their own. Thus the Hebrew kingdom was divided before it was a century old. Solomon's son continued to rule at Jerusalem over a little kingdom of southern Palestine known as Judah. The Hebrews of the northern tribes were far more numerous, their land was much more fertile, and they formed a much stronger kingdom, called Israel. Their capital, after some changes, was finally Samaria (see map, p. 102).

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ngdoms

There was much hard feeling between the two Hebrew kingdoms, and sometimes fighting. Israel was rich and prosperous; its market places were filled with industry and commerce; its fields produced plentiful crops. Israel displayed the wealth and success of town life. Judah, on the other hand, was poor, her land was meager (Fig. 57), she had few large and powerful towns. Many of the people still wandered with their flocks. The south thus remained largely nomad. Here are two different ideals of life: a settled life of wealth, luxury, and oppression of the poor; and a wandering life of simplicity, where each was glad to share his prosperity with all the brethren of the tribe, and equality reigned. These two methods of life came into conflict in many ways, but especially in religion. Every old Canaanite town had for centuries worshiped its baal, or lord, as its local god was called. These had never died out. Many Hebrews accepted the baals as the gods of the rich and the prosperous in the towns. The Hebrew God Yahweh (or Jehovah[1]), on the other hand, as the god of the nomad and the desert, was felt to be the protector of the poor and needy.

Thoughtful Hebrews then began to think of him as a god of fatherly kindness, who rebuked the wealthy class in the towns.

[1] The Hebrews pronounced the name of their God "Yahweh." The pronunciation "Jehovah" began less than four hundred years ago and was due to a misunderstanding of the pronunciation of the word "Yahweh."

Their showy clothes, fine houses, beautiful furniture, and their hard-heartedness toward the poor were things unknown in the desert. Men who chafed under such injustices of town life turned fondly back to the grand old days of their shepherd wanderings out yonder on the broad reaches of the desert,

The earliest historian (eighth century B.C.)

FIG. 56. RUINS OF THE HOUSES OF ANCIENT JERICHO

Only the stone foundations of these houses are preserved. The walls were of sun-baked brick, and the rains of over three thousand years have washed them away; for these houses date from about 1500 B.C., and in them lived the Canaanites, whom the Hebrews found in Palestine (p. 102). Here we find the furniture of these houses, in so far as it consisted of things durable enough to survive, like the pottery jars, glass, and dishes of the household; also things carved of stone, like seals, amulets, and ornaments of metal.

where no man "ground the faces of the poor." It was a man with such admiration for the nomad life of the fathers who became the earliest-known historian[1] and told the immortal tales of the Hebrew patriarchs, of Abraham and Isaac, of Jacob and

[1] Unfortunately we do not know his name, for the Hebrews themselves early lost all knowledge of his name and identity, and finally associated the surviving fragments of his work with the name of Moses.

Joseph. These tales, preserved to us in the Old Testament, are among the noblest literature which has survived from the past.[1]

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Other men were not content merely to tell tales of the good old days. Amos, a simple herdsman, who came from the south, entered the towns of the wealthy north and denounced their luxury and corruption. The God whom the people once thought of only as a leader in the fierce tribal wars of the *wilderness*, Amos now announced as a God of mercy and kindness in the social struggles of the *town*. Thus these social and religious reformers, like Amos, whom we call prophets, were gaining a larger vision of God as they watched the struggles of men.

he Hebrews
arn to write

By this time the Hebrews had learned to write. They were now abandoning the clay tablet which the Canaanites had received from Babylonia (p. 67), and they wrote on sheepskin and papyrus (p. 22) in long strips, which were rolled up when not in use. They used the Egyptian pen and ink, and the alphabet they employed came to them from the Phœnician merchants (p. 139). The "rolls" containing the tales of the patriarchs and the teachings of such men as Amos were the first books which the Hebrews produced — their first literature. Literature was the only art the Hebrew possessed. He had no painting, sculpture, or architecture, and if he needed these things he borrowed from his great neighbors, Egypt, Phœnicia, Damascus, or Assyria.

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ngdoms

While the Hebrews were deeply stirred by their own affairs at home, they were now rudely aroused to dangers coming from beyond their own borders. Assyria first swept away Damascus (p. 72). The kingdom of Israel, thus left exposed, was the next victim, and Samaria, its capital, was taken by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. (p. 72). Many of the unhappy people were carried away as captives. The feeble little kingdom of Judah survived for something over a century and a quarter more. During this time it beheld and rejoiced over the destruction of Nineveh (p. 79).

[1] The student should read these tales, especially Gen. xxiv, xxvii, xxviii, xxxvii, xxxix–xlvii, 12.

But it had only exchanged one foreign lord for another, and Chaldea followed Assyria in control of Palestine (p. 80). Then their unwillingness to submit brought upon the men of Judah the same fate which their kindred of Israel had suffered. In 586 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king of Babylonia, destroyed Jerusalem and carried away the people to exile in Babylonia.[1]

FIG. 57. THE STONY AND UNPRODUCTIVE FIELDS OF JUDAH

Judah is largely made up of sterile ridges like this in the background. Note the scantiness of the growing grain in the foreground (p. 104)

The exiled Hebrews gain monotheism

Forced to dwell in strange lands the Hebrews were now faced by the great question: "Does Yahweh dwell and rule in Palestine only, as we have always thought; or is he also ruler of all nations, and does he dwell with us in our exile in a strange land?" Like all nomads, they had at first believed that their God had no power beyond the corner of the desert where they lived (p. 59); next they believed him to be lord of Palestine

[1] The headpiece of this chapter shows a lion of blue-glazed brick from the buildings of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon.

only; now, in exile, they perceived for the first time that he was king of all the earth and righteous ruler of all the nations. We call belief in such a god monotheism, which is a Greek word meaning "one-god-ism." This belief denies the existence of all other gods. To reach the belief in such a god the Hebrews had passed through a long development and discipline, lasting many centuries, during which they had outgrown many imperfect ideas, thus illustrating the words of the greatest of Hebrew teachers, "First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."[1]

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While the Hebrews were exiles in Babylonia, the victories of Cyrus (p. 96) overthrew their Chaldean lords and gave to the Hebrews Persian masters instead. With great humanity the Persian kings allowed the Hebrew exiles to return to Palestine, their native land. At different times enough of them went back to Jerusalem to rebuild the city on a very modest scale. Their leaders restored the temple, and the old worship there was resumed. These men arranged and copied the ancient writings of their fathers, such as the stories of the patriarchs or the speeches of Amos (p. 106). They also added other writings of their own. All these writings, in Hebrew, form the Bible of the Jews at the present day. They have also become a sacred book for all Christians and translated into English, they are called the Old Testament. They form the most precious legacy which we have inherited from the older Orient before the coming of Christ (p. 300).

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It should be remembered, then, that one of the most important things which we owe to the Persians was their restoration of the Hebrews to Palestine. For the oriental world as a whole, Persian rule meant about two hundred years of peaceful prosperity (ending about 333 B.C.). The Persian kings, however, as time went on, were no longer as strong and skillful as Cyrus and Darius. They loved luxury and ease and left the task of government to their governors and officials. The result

[1] The words of Jesus; see Mark iv, 28.

was weakness and decline, until the final fall of Persia and the surrender of political leadership of the Orient to the men of Europe, whose career in the eastern Mediterranean we must now take up.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 16. What is the extent of the northern grasslands? Trace them on the map on page 56. As a source of migrating population how do they resemble the southern grasslands? Diagram the two racial lines, Indo-European and Semitic.

What is the relation of these two lines in the history of the ancient world? From which line are we descended? Give some account of the Indo-European parent people. Discuss their dispersion. What proof of the relationship between their modern descendants still exists? Where are the two ends of the Indo-European line in the Old World now? of the Semitic line?

SECTION 17. Locate the Aryan tribes on the map on page 80 (they are not marked) and give some account of them. Into what two groups did they separate? What became of the eastern group? Where did the western group settle?

What were its two leading peoples? What Indo-European people first invaded the fertile crescent, and when? Who overthrew Assyria, and when? Who was Zoroaster? What did he teach? Whom did he convert? What peoples adopted the religion he taught? What is the *Avesta*?

SECTION 18. Who were the Persians? Who was Cyrus? Where did his people live? Whom did he first conquer? Where were his next great conquests? Describe Persian methods of fighting. What great ancient city did Cyrus finally conquer? What race then controlled the fertile crescent?

What other ancient land did the *son* of Cyrus conquer? What was then the extent of the Persian Empire? Who organized it? Describe Persian rule. Where did the Persian kings live? What was their character? Whither did Persian religion spread?

SECTION 19. What kind of a life did the Hebrews originally lead and whence did they come? Where is Palestine? Whom did the Hebrews find there? What was the final result of the Hebrew invasion? Tell the story of the Hebrew kingdom. Did it remain united?

What kind of great men arose under the two kingdoms? What were their ideas of God? What happened to the two kingdoms? What happened to the surviving Hebrews? What was their idea of God? Who allowed some of the exiles to return to Palestine? What did the returned exiles do? What is the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament?

CHAPTER V

THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND THE EARLY GREEKS

Section 20. The Ægean Civilization

The Mediterranean Sea was the ocean where the ancient world carried on its commerce by ship, its explorations of unknown shores, and the settlement of colonies in newly discovered regions, just as later, men of Europe explored and colonized the shores of the Atlantic. The Mediterranean is, moreover, a body of water so vast that it bounds a large part of Europe on the south. It is about twenty-four hundred miles long and, laid out across the United States, would reach from New York over into California. Nowhere else on the globe is there a great landlocked inland sea with a coast so irregular and indented as to produce a whole series of smaller seas and sheltered basins. All this, as we have seen, favored the early rise of seagoing ships and made the Mediterranean the earliest home of navigation, which is far earlier than historians formerly supposed. Nor have the current books yet taken knowledge of the fact that large fleets sailed the Mediterranean in the thirtieth century B.C. These earliest vessels transformed the Mediterranean from a separating barrier into a connecting link, joining together the surrounding lands which made up the ancient world.

The Mediterranean

Its shores

The food of the Mediterranean peoples to-day is chiefly bread, wine, and oil; wine is their tea, and oil their butter. It was

equally so in ancient times. In the Homeric poems bread and wine are the chief food of all, even of the children; and Euripides praises bread and wine as the earliest gifts of the gods to men. In spite of the dry summer heat, the grapevine and the olive tree grow and ripen their fruit *without irrigation*. This is a condition in the Mediterranean countries, then, very different

FIG. 58. THE MOUND OF ANCIENT TROY (ILIUM)

When Schliemann first visited this mound (see map, p. 146) in 1868, it was about one hundred and twenty-five feet high, and the Turks were cultivating grain on its summit. He excavated a pit like a crater in the top of the hill, passing downward through nine successive cities built each on the ruins of its predecessors. At the bottom of his pit (about fifty feet deep) Schliemann found the original once bare hilltop about seventy-five feet high, on which the men of the Late Stone Age (p. 14) had established a small settlement of sun-baked brick houses about 3000 B.C. (First City). Above the scanty ruins of this Late Stone Age settlement rose, in layer after layer, the ruins of the later cities, with the Roman buildings at the top. The entire depth of fifty feet of ruins represented a period of about thirty-five hundred years from the First City (Late Stone Age) to the Ninth City (Roman) at the top. The Second City (p. 117) contained the earliest copper found in the series; the Sixth City was that of the Trojan War and the Homeric songs (p. 142). Its masonry walls may be seen in Fig. 71

from what we have found in Egypt and Babylonia. The shores of the northern Mediterranean are on the whole so cut up by steep and rugged mountains that they are well suited to flocks and herds, but agriculture and gardening also flourish where river valleys and shore plains, as in Italy, offer a wider stretch of moist and cultivable soil. A mild climate with a dry summer and a rainy season during winter makes the conditions of life easy and favorable.

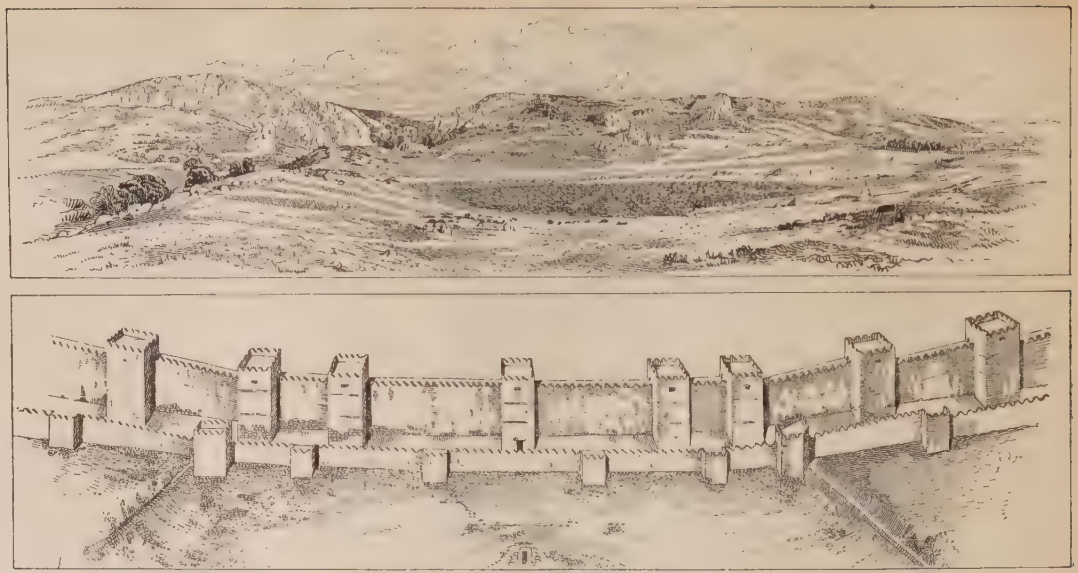


FIG. 59. THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE HITTITES IN CENTRAL ASIA MINOR RECENTLY EXCAVATED

The view at the top shows the ruins of the great walled city which covered a group of hills like those of Rome. A modern village close by called Boghaz-Köi, has given the place its modern name; but the Hittites called the city Khatti. The view below shows a portion of the masonry walls of the city as they once were, when the Hittite kings lived here in the thirteenth century B.C.

Europe learns the use of metal

As early as three thousand years before the Christian Era Egyptian seagoing ships[1] (p. 32 and Fig. 14) began to issue from the Nile and cross the Mediterranean northward. The copper which these ships brought into the Ægean (p. 14) then slowly spread, through the Mediterranean, from people to people. It finally crossed Europe as the trader carried it with his pack trains up the Rhone and the Danube, or over the Alpine passes

FIG. 60. A HITTITE PRINCE HUNTING DEER

The prince accompanied by his driver stands in the moving chariot, shooting with bow and arrow at the fleeing stag. A hound runs beside the horses. Over the scene is an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs (p. 118). The whole is sculptured in stone, and forms a good example of the rather crude Hittite art, greatly influenced by that of Egypt and Babylonia from which it gained much

into the valley of the Elbe and there shifted his cargo to river boats, in which he floated downstream to the northern seas — where by 2000 B.C. copper became common as far north as Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In return the trader carried back amber to the Mediterranean ports.

Stone implements had, however, by no means disappeared in Europe, but the northern craftsman, pleased with the form of

[1] The student should here reread pp. 14 f.

copper ax or dagger, imitated the metal shapes in stone with brilliant success. So long as he was obliged to depend entirely upon imported metal he was slow to learn the new art of shaping it. At last the knowledge that metal might be found in mountain ores reached him, and he sought and found the precious veins of metal in his own mountains. In the British Isles the galleries which the ancient miner pushed into the mountain side, although they have sometimes caved in, still contain the stone pickaxes which he used there; while in the Austrian Alps we find the remains of his rude equipment for getting out the ore, with even his ore-crushers and smelting furnaces still preserved. The lens-shaped disks of copper which came from these furnaces still show us the form of the raw metal as it went from the smelting furnaces to the craftsman. Such miners also discovered the tin mines of Portugal and of Cornwall in England, and with this they were able to harden copper into bronze (see p. 34), which was common in the Norse countries as early as 2000 B.C.[1]

Europe begins to mine copper and tin

Notwithstanding the fact that they now possessed metal, the peoples of western and northern Europe still failed to advance to a high type of civilization. As we have seen, they learned to build vast structures of rough stone all along the shores of the Atlantic (p. 12 and Fig. 8), like the great stone circles at Stonehenge; but they were unable to advance to real architecture in

Failure of Europe to advance to high civilization after introduction of metal

[1] For a long time stone and metal were used side by side. In one of the lake-villages of Switzerland, preserved in a peat bog, three successive towns lie one over the other. *Stone* implements are found in all three, but the upper two, that is the *later* two, contain also objects of copper along with those of stone. Slowly stone gave way before metal, and the ancient art of chipping flint gradually disappeared as metal became more plentiful. We should remember, however, that some races still surviving, like the Bushmen of South Africa and the Australians and Tasmanians (p. 2), continue at the present day in the use of stone, and have not yet learned to work metal nor to make metal tools. Indeed, even in Europe certain stone implements lingered on in use among the peasants of the north of Sweden as late as the nineteenth century, nearly four thousand years after metal was introduced in the Norse countries. A vague tradition of the Stone Age survived even into Roman times, although by that time the world at large had forgotten this long chapter in the story of their ancestors, and the stone axes which the peasants picked up now and then in the fields, they fancied were thunderbolts of the sky god.

stone, and this failure to make further progress in architecture illustrates their backwardness in all the arts of civilization. The advance to a high civilization in Europe after the introduction of metal — such an advance as we may call real historical progress — was made in the eastern Mediterranean, in the Ægean lands, under the influence of oriental culture. It was this oriental stimulus which carried Europe forward to the development of the civilization which we have inherited.

FIG. 61. ONE OF THE LARGE DECORATED CRETAN JARS, NEARLY FOUR FEET HIGH, FOUND AT ANCIENT CNOSSUS

A fine example of the originality, power, and beauty of Cretan decorative art; although the leading design, the lotus flower, is drawn from Egypt, it is treated in the masterly Cretan manner (see p. 120)

The Ægean world; its geographical connections with the Orient

The Ægean world consists of the islands of the Ægean Sea and the lands which surround this sea in neighboring Asia and Europe, which here face each other across its waters. For the Ægean world is the region where Asia thrusts forward its westernmost heights (Asia Minor) and Europe throws out its southernmost and easternmost peninsula (Greece) into the waters so early crossed and recrossed by Egyptian ships (p. 31). At the same time the east and west valleys of Asia Minor furnished roads for the early trade which linked the Ægean world with the Euphrates and Babylonia. Thus the Stone Age settlements of the Ægean

region naturally became the outposts of the great oriental civilizations which we have found so early on the Nile and the Euphrates. From these centers the Ægean world, at first slow and backward like western and northern Europe, received continual impulses toward a higher civilization — impulses felt in trade, metal-working, pottery, house-building, and in many other ways.

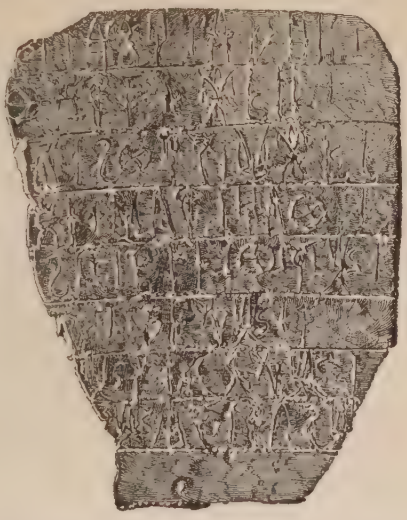


Fig. 62. An Example of the still Undeciphered Early Cretan Writing incised on Clay (pp. 118, 119)

At the northwest corner of Asia Minor, controlling the profitable trade crossing from Asia to Europe at this point, stood the ancient and highly prosperous Ægean city of Troy. By 2500 B.C., some centuries after it had received the first metals, its rulers had erected a strong citadel of sun-baked brick, with massive stone foundations, the earliest fortress in the Ægean world (the Second City, Fig. 58). Here they carried on industries in pottery, metal-working, and textiles, which show wide foreign-trade connections. Their kindred and neighbors on the east were the Hittites. In the later days of the Egyptian Empire the Hittites themselves held a great empire in central and eastern Asia Minor (Figs. 59, 60). They gave Egypt much trouble in Syria, and they early invaded Babylonia and Assyria also (p. 70).

Ægean peoples — Trojans and Hittites

Toward the east, then, the population of Asia Minor merged gradually with the Tigris-Euphrates world, whose history we have

Ægean peoples — summary

followed (pp. 56 ff.); while in the west other Ægean kindred of these Trojan and Hittite peoples had their homes in the Ægean islands, even as far as Crete. Some of them, too, formed the population of Greece, where they were the predecessors of the people known to us as the Greeks. These predecessors of the Greeks in the Ægean world belonged to a great and gifted white race, whose origin and relationships with other peoples are still quite undetermined. We shall call this race the Ægeans.

Fig. 63. Ruins of the Main Entrance to the Cretan Palace at Cnossus, built about 1800 B.C.

It is on the north side, facing the harbor three and a half miles away, from which a road leads up to this entrance. Notice the heavy masonry of stone — the only portion of the palace built for defense, the rest being of sun-baked brick

All of these Ægean peoples were so long without writing, that they at first left no written monuments to tell us their story; hence the difficulty in the disentangling of their relationships. Some time after 2000 B.C. the Hittites invented a system of hieroglyphic writing (Fig. 60) showing Egyptian influence, which we find inscribed on stone monuments widely scattered through Asia Minor and northern Syria. Later they also found that their commerce with Babylonia brought into their hands

Our ignorance of Asia Minor; Hittite writing and its decipherment

bills and business documents written in cuneiform (wedge-writing), on clay tablets (Fig. 37). They therefore began to write the Babylonian cuneiform also. Their capital in central Asia Minor (Fig. 59), recently excavated, has furnished great numbers of such clay tablets, but they cannot yet be read. When they have been deciphered we shall learn many of the secrets of this great world of Asia Minor, which links the Ægean with the Asiatic Orient.

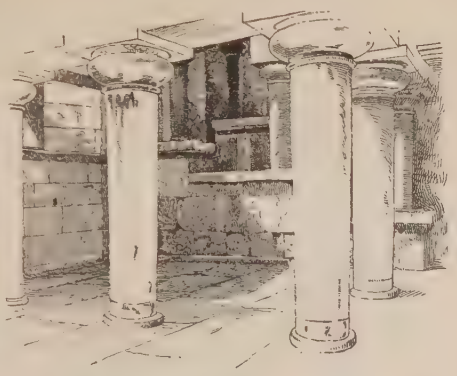


Fig. 64. A Colonnaded Hall and Staircase in the Cretan Palace at Cnossus

The columns and roof of the hall are modern restoration. The hall is in the lower portion of the palace, and the stairway, concealed by the balustrade at the back of the hall, led up, by five flights of fifty-two massive steps, to the main floor of the palace

As Asia Minor was the link between the Ægean on the west and the Euphrates world on the east, so Crete was the link between Egypt on the south and the Ægean Sea on the north. This large island lies so far out in the Mediterranean that one is almost in doubt whether it belongs to Europe or Africa. Even in ancient ships the mariners issuing from the mouths of the Nile and steering northwestward would sight the Cretan mountains in a few days. Excavations in this island since 1900 have uncovered the ruins of palace after palace and revealed a new chapter in the story of the ancient world.

Importance of the position of Crete

For a thousand years after Crete had received copper her people showed but little sign of progress. While the great pyramids of Egypt were being built (p. 29), the Cretan craftsman

Advance of civilization in Crete by 2000 B.C.

learned from his Egyptian neighbor the use of the potter's wheel and the closed oven (p. 35) for shaping and firing his clay vases (Fig. 61). About 2000 B.C. the Cretans began a distinct forward movement under the influence of the great nation on the Nile. Commerce between the two countries was

FIG. 65. AN OPEN-AIR THEATRAL AREA BESIDE THE CRETAN PALACE AT CNOSSUS

This area is about thirty by forty feet, and on two sides rise tiers of seats, accommodating four or five hundred spectators. Open-air athletic spectacles, like boxing matches, probably took place here to divert select groups of Cretan lords and ladies; the area is not large enough for the bullfights in which the Cretans took great delight (compare the exciting bull-hunt at head of Chapter V, p. 111, and footnote, p. 121)

constant. Egyptian craft (Fig. 14) were a common sight in the Cretan harbors, while the prevailing north wind of summer easily carried the galleys, which the Cretans learned to build on Egyptian models, across to the Nile Delta.

Cnossus

At Cnossus, near the middle of the northern coast of Crete, arose a prosperous city, whose ruler was able to build a palace arranged in the Egyptian manner, with a large cluster of rooms

about a central court. A similar palace also arose at Phæstus in southern Crete, perhaps another residence of the same royal family. These palaces were not castles, for neither they nor the towns connected with them were fortified. Several indications, like the statue of an Egyptian official found under the pavement of the oldest palace at Cnossus, suggest that the Egyptian Pharaohs of the Feudal Age (p. 42) may have exercised political power as well as commercial and cultural influence over the men of Crete. In the storerooms of the palace at Cnossus invoices scratched on clay tablets have been found in great numbers. This writing is a kind of hieroglyphic clearly showing the influence of Egyptian writing; but much study has not yet enabled scholars to decipher and read these precious records, the earliest-known writing in the European world (Fig. 62).

Egyptian influence in Crete

Cretan writing

As the older palace of Cnossus gave way to a more splendid building (about 1800 B.C.), the life of Crete began to unfold in all directions (Figs. 61–66). Noble pottery (Fig. 61) was painted or molded in grand designs drawn often from the life of the sea, where Cretan power was already expanding. This painted pottery shows the most powerful, vigorous, and impressive decorative art of the early oriental world. The palace walls were also painted with fresh and beautiful scenes from daily life, all aquiver with movement and action; or they were adorned with glazed porcelain figures incrusted upon the surface of the wall.[1] The method of use and the execution of the work everywhere show that this new art was due to suggestion from Egypt; but in spite of this fact the powerful individuality of the Cretan artist did not permit him to follow slavishly the Egyptian model. His work is alive with his own vigor and his own character.

Rise of Cretan art

Cretan civilization culminated in the century from 1600 to 1500 B.C., when the sea power of the Cretan rulers was carrying

[1] The Cretans produced also the most magnificent metal work; see the bull-hunt wrought in a band around a golden goblet (at head of Chapter V, p. 111). Nothing could be more vigorous than the charging bull, goring his pursuers (at the left). Two such golden goblets were found at Vaphio, near Sparta, showing how Cretan art at its highest reached the southern mainland of Greece (see p. 123).

Culmination of Cretan civilization (1600–1500 B.C.)

their influence and their art far and wide through the Mediterranean. At the highest level of their civilized development, however, the kings of Crete were vassals of the Pharaoh, and the Cretan cities were not free. An Egyptian general of Thutmose III (p. 46) bore the title of "governor of the islands in the midst of the sea," as the Egyptians called the islands of the Ægean. Here, a new world, shaking off the old Stone Age lethargy of early Europe, under the magic touch of riper Egyptian culture, sprang into vigorous life. Beside the two older centers of civilization on the Nile and the Euphrates in this age, there thus arose here in the eastern Mediterranean, as a third great civilization, this splendid world of Crete and the Ægean Sea, to carry us from the Orient to Greece and later to Europe.[1]

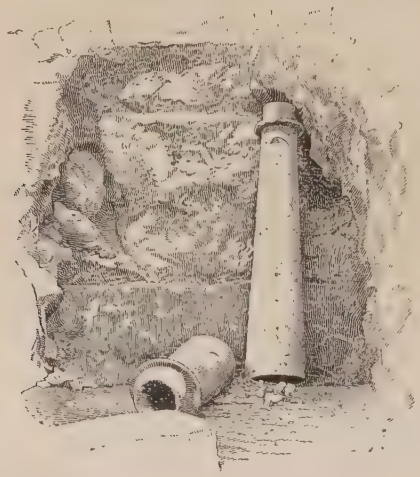


FIG. 66. TILE DRAINPIPES FROM THE CRETAN PALACE OF CNOSSUS

These joints of pottery drainpipe (two and one half feet long and four to six inches across) are part of an elaborate system of drainage in the palace, the oldest drainage system in the *European* world. The *oldest*-known system of drainpipe (copper) is in the pyramid-temple of Abusir, Egypt (see Fig. 22), about a thousand years earlier than this system at Cnossus

[1] An interesting evidence of the transmission of oriental civilization from the Nile to Crete and Europe will be found in a scene carved on a stone vase in Crete, about 1800 B.C. (see cut, p. 135). It depicts a harvest festival procession in Crete, the men marching with wooden pitchforks over their shoulders, and a chorus of open-mouthed singing youths, led by a shaven-headed Egyptian priest with a sistrum (an Egyptian musical rattle) in his hand.

Section 21. The Early Greeks

The Greek mainland before the coming of the Greeks; the Mycenæan Age

Thus far the islands had been leading the civilization of the Ægean world, but the fleets of Egypt and Crete carried a constant flow of commerce from the islands to the mainland of Greece. Massive strongholds, with heavy stone masonry foundations, have been excavated at Tiryns (Fig. 67) and Mycenæ (Fig. 68) in southern Greece.[1] The Ægean princes who built these strongholds a little after 1500 B.C. imported works of Cretan and Egyptian art in pottery and metal.[2] These things, with fragments of Egyptian glaze, still lying in the ruins, are the earliest tokens of a life of higher refinement as it displaced the barbarism of the Stone Age on the continent of Europe.[3] But the mainland still lagged behind the islands, for Cretan writing seems not to have followed Cretan commerce, and there was as yet no writing on the continent of Europe. Regions on the north of Greece, such as Thessaly, were covered with scattered settlements which had advanced but little beyond the Late Stone Age civilization of the rest of Europe. Metal was not common in Thessaly until about 1500 B.C. The cultured Cretans had little influence here in the north, where a hostile race was already appearing. As far back as 2000 B.C. we see these invaders appearing behind the passes of the Balkan Mountains. These newcomers and not the gifted Cretans and their Ægean kindred were to possess the Greek peninsula.[4]

The people whom we call the Greeks were a large group of tribes of the Indo-European race. We have already followed

1 Also at Troy, the Sixth City, the Homeric Troy (Fig. 71).

2 See the relief on the golden goblet, a work of Cretan art, found at Vaphio, near Sparta, in southern Greece (p. 111).

3 The discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenæ were among the first revelations of pre-Greek art and civilization in the Ægean world. The discoveries in Crete had not yet been made, and the Cretan source of Mycenæan art was unknown. Hence this pre-Greek civilization of the Ægean is still commonly called "Mycenæan," although, as we have seen, Mycenæ represents only a late and declining stage of the high Ægean civilization attained by Crete.

4 The student should here carefully reread pp. 86–88.

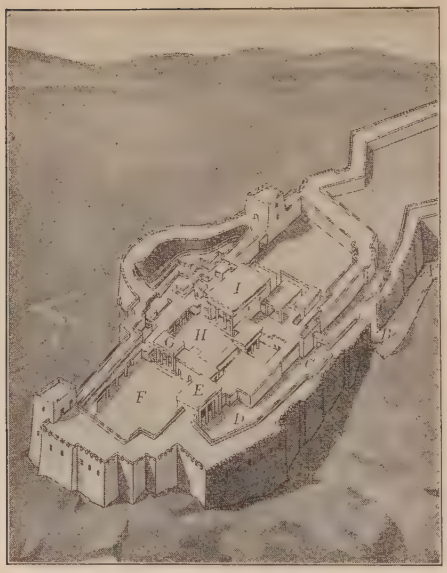


FIG. 67. RESTORATION OF THE CASTLE AND PALACE OF TIRYNS. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

Unlike the Cretan palaces, this dwelling of an Ægean prince is massively fortified. A rising road (*A*) leads up to the main gate (*B*), where the great walls are double. An assaulting party bearing their shields on the *left* arm must here (*C*, *D*) march with the exposed *right* side toward the city. By the gate (*E*) the visitor arrives in the large court (*F*) on which the palace faces. The main entrance of the palace (*G*) leads to its forecourt (*H*), where the excavators found the place of the household altar of the king (p. 144). Behind the forecourt (*H*) is the main hall of the palace (*I*). This was the earliest castle in Europe with outer walls of stone. The villages of the common people clustered about the foot of the castle hill. The whole formed the nucleus of a city-state (p. 130) in the plain of Argos (see Plate II, p. 124)

the scattered tribes of the Indo-European parent people until their diverging migrations finally ranged them in a line from the Atlantic Ocean to northern India (p. 87 and Fig. 49). While their eastern kindred were drifting southward on the east side of the Caspian toward India, the Greeks on the west side of the Black Sea were likewise moving southward from their broad pastures along the Danube.

Driving their herds before them, with their families in rough carts drawn by horses, the rude Greek tribesmen must have looked out upon the fair pastures of Thessaly, the snowy summit of Olympus (Fig. 69), and the blue waters of the

PLATE II. THE PLAIN OF ARGOS FROM THE CASTLE OF TIRYNS

Ægean not long after 2000 B.C. The Greek peninsula which they had entered contains about twenty-five thousand square miles.[1] It is everywhere cut up by mountains and inlets of the sea into small plains and peninsulas, separated from each other either by the sea or the mountain ridges (Fig. 87). The Greeks found the Thessalian plains dotted with the settlements of mud-plastered wattle huts, the agricultural villages of the Europeans of the Late Stone Age (p. 123), while the islands which the newcomers could dimly discern across the waters were already carrying on busy industries in pottery and metal, which a thriving commerce was distributing. With a wonder like that of the North American Indians as they beheld the first European ships, these earliest Greeks must have looked out upon the white sails that flecked the blue surface of the Ægean Sea.

FIG. 68. THE MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE CASTLE OF MYCENÆ, CALLED THE "LION GATE"

A good example of the masonry of the two Mycenæan cities in the plain of Argos (Plate II and map, p. 146). The gate is surmounted by a large triangular relief showing two lions grouped on either side of a central column, the whole doubtless forming the emblem of the city, or the "arms" of its kings

It was to be long, however, before

[1] It is about one sixth smaller than the state of South Carolina. The very limited extent of Greece will be evident if the student notes that Mount Olympus on the northern boundary of Greece can be seen over a large part of the peninsula. From the mountains of Sparta one can see from Crete to the mountains north of the Corinthian Gulf (see Fig. 87), a distance of two hundred twenty-five miles.

these inland shepherds should themselves venture timidly out upon the great waters which they were viewing for the first time.

Achæans in Peloponnesus

Gradually their vanguard (called the Achæans) pushed southward into Peloponnesus, and doubtless some of them mingled with the dwellers in the villages which were grouped under the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ (Figs. 67, 68, Plate II). Some of their leaders may have captured these Ægean fortresses.[1] But our knowledge of the situation in Greece is very meager because the peoples here could not yet write, and have left no written documents to tell the story.

FIG. 69. MOUNT OLYMPUS — THE HOME OF THE GODS

Although Mount Olympus is on the northern borders of Greece, it can be seen from Attica and the south end of Eubœa. It approaches ten thousand feet in height, and looks down upon Macedonia on one side and Thessaly on the other (see map, p. 146). As we look at it here from the south, we have a portion of the plain of Thessaly in the foreground, where the first Greeks entered Hellas (p. 124), and where later the earliest Homeric songs were composed (p. 142)

It is evident, however, that a second wave of Greek nomads (called the Dorians) reached the Peloponnesus by 1500 B.C. and subdued their earlier kinsmen (the Achæans) as well as the Ægean townsmen, the original inhabitants of the region. The Ægeans slowly mingled with their Greek conquerors, producing a mixed race, the people who are known to us henceforth as the Greeks of history. In the names of towns,

Dorians in Peloponnesus

[1] The student will recall a similar situation, as the incoming Hebrew nomads took the strongholds of their predecessors in Palestine (p. 102).

rivers, mountains, and plants, the old language of the Ægeans left its traces in the Greek tongue; and doubtless much of the supreme genius of the classical Greeks was due to this admixture of the blood of the gifted Cretans, with their open-mindedness toward influences from abroad and their fine artistic instincts.

The Greeks take possession of the Ægean world

The Dorians did not stop at the southern limits of Greece, but, learning a little navigation from their Ægean predecessors, they passed over to Crete, where they must have arrived by 1400 B.C. Cnossus, unfortified as it was, and without any walled castle (p. 121), must have fallen an easy prey of the invading Dorians, who took possession of the island, and likewise seized the other southern islands of the Ægean. Between 1300 and 1000 B.C. the Greek tribes took possession of the remaining islands, as well as the coast of Asia Minor, the Æolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the south. Thus during the thousand years between 2000 and 1000 B.C. the Greeks took possession of the entire Ægean outpost of the Orient, including the islands of the Ægean Sea, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the easternmost peninsula of Europe.

Dorians in Crete and southern Ægean

Æolians and Ionians further north

Effect on the Orient

Driven from their native harbors by the Greeks, the Ægean mariners fled and their fleets appeared in great numbers along the coasts of Syria and Egypt, where they assisted in inflicting the deathblow on the Egyptian Empire in the twelfth century B.C. (see p. 53). Some of them, expelled from Crete, took refuge on the coast of Palestine, and we have already met them as the Philistines (Fig. 70 and p. 103). Thus the effect of the advance of the Indo-European line to the Mediterranean along its northern shores was felt by the older civilizations of the Orient on its other shores.

Philistines

Section 22. The Greek City-States under Kings

The nomad Greeks begin a settled life

In spite of their seaward expansion the Greeks were still a barbarous people of flocks and herds. As a race they had not yet taken to the water, and even as late as 700 B.C. we find their

peasant-poet Hesiod looking with shrinking eye upon the sea. As they took possession of the more fertile districts of the peninsula, the Greek shepherds slowly began the cultivation of land. This forced them to give up a wandering life and live in

FIG. 70. PHILISTINE WARRIORS — A CRETAN TRIBE DRIVEN OUT BY THE GREEKS

These men with tall, feathered headdress are depicted among the captives taken by Ramses III, the last of the Egyptian emperors in the twelfth century B.C., at a time when he was desperately striving to repel an invasion of Egypt by Mediterranean peoples, who were being displaced by the incoming Greeks and therefore sought new homes in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (see p. 53 and map, p. 56)

permanent homes, to watch over the fields and gather the harvests. War and care of the flocks long continued to be the occupation of the *men*, who at first left the cultivation of the field to the *women*, a condition still found in later times in the remote valleys of inner Greece. Furthermore, flocks and herds

made up the chief wealth of the Greeks for many centuries after they had begun agriculture.

Earliest government and society among the settled Greeks

Nomad life as we have seen it along the fertile crescent in Asia (p. 59) possesses no state government, for there is no public business which demands it. No taxes are collected, there are no officials, there are no cases at law, no legal business, and society is controlled by a few customs like the "blood revenge," which places the punishment of the murderer in the hands of the injured family. Such was exactly the condition of the nomad Greeks when they began a settled life in the Ægean world. From their old wandering life on the grasslands they carried with them the loose groups of families known as tribes, and within each tribe an indefinite number of smaller groups of more intimate families called "brotherhoods."

Council and Assembly

A "council" of the old men ("elders") occasionally decided matters in dispute, or questions of tribal importance, and probably once a year, or at some important feast, an "assembly" of all the weapon-bearing men of the tribe might be held, to express its opinion of a proposed war or migration. These are the germs of later European political institutions and even of our own in the United States to-day.[1] At some stage in their early career the old-time nomad leader in war, religion, and the settlement of disputes had become a rude shepherd king of the tribe. Each tribe seems to have gained such a king, although a whole group of tribes might occasionally be found under the rule of one king.

King

Lack of writing

During the four centuries from 1000 to 600 B.C. we see the Greeks entangled in the problem of learning how to transact the business of settled landholding communities, and how to adjust the ever-growing friction and strife between the rich and the poor, the social classes created by the holding of land and the settled life. We gain some idea of the difficulties to be met as

[1] Compare the House of Lords (= the above "council") and the House of Commons (= the above "assembly") in England, or the Senate (derived from the Latin word meaning "old man") and the House of Representatives in the United States.

a government grows up slowly out of the old wandering life on the grasslands, when we recall that the transition had to be made without writing. There arose in some communities a "rememberer," whose duty it was to notice carefully the terms of a contract, the amount of a loan, or the conditions of a treaty with a neighboring people, that he might remember these and innumerable other things, which in a more civilized society are recorded in writing.

Rise of the city-state

In course of time the group of villages forming the nucleus of a tribe grew and merged at last into a city. This is the most important process in Greek political development; for the organized city became the only nation which the Greeks knew. Each city-state was a sovereign power; each had its own laws, its own army and gods, and each citizen felt a patriotic duty toward his own city and no other. Overlooking the city from the heights in its midst is the king's castle (Fig. 67), which we call the "citadel," or "acropolis," and around the houses and the market below extends the city wall. The king has now become a revered and powerful ruler of the city, and guardian of the worship of the city gods. King and Council sit all day in the market and adjust the business and the disputes between the people. These continuous sessions for the first time create a state and an uninterrupted government. To be sure it is crude, corrupt, and often unjust.

Rise of the nobles, or "eupatrids"

By fraud, oppression, unjust seizure of lands, union of families in marriage, and many other influences, the strong man of ability and cleverness was able to enlarge his lands. Thus there arose a class of large landholders and men of wealth. Their fields stretched for some miles around the city and its neighboring villages. In order to be near the king or secure membership in the Council and control the government, these men often left their lands and lived in the city. After a time they formed a class of hereditary nobles called "eupatrids." Such was the power of the eupatrids that the Council finally consisted only of men of this class. Wealthy enough to buy costly weapons, with

leisure for continual exercise in the use of arms, these nobles became also the chief protection of the state in time of war.

Thus grew up a sharp distinction between the city community and the peasants living in the country — a division altogether unknown in the old wandering life on the grasslands, where

Conflict of city and country

FIG. 71. THE WALLS OF HOMERIC TROY, BUILT ABOUT 1500 B.C.

A section of the outer walls of the Sixth City in the mound of Troy (Fig. 58). The sloping outer surface of the walls faces toward the right; the inside of the city is on the left. These are the walls built in the days when Mycenæ was flourishing — walls which protected the old Ægean inhabitants of the place from the assaults of the Greeks in a remote war which laid it in ruins after 1200 B.C., a war of which vague traditions and heroic tales have survived in the Homeric poems (p. 142). Schliemann never saw this Sixth City, the real Homeric city, which was not excavated until after his death. The walls of the houses of the Seventh City are visible here resting on those of the Sixth

there were no towns. The country peasant was obliged to divide the family lands with his brothers. His fields were therefore small and he was poor. He went about clad in a goatskin, and his labors never ceased. Hence he had no leisure to learn the use of arms, nor any way to meet the expense of purchasing

The peasant

them. He and his neighbors were of small account in war. When he attended the Assembly of the people in the city, he found but few of his fellows from the countryside gathered there — a dingy group, clad in their rough goatskins. The powerful Council in beautiful oriental raiment was backed by the whole class of wealthy nobles, all trained in war and splendid in their glittering weapons.

The Assembly cowed by the nobles

Intimidated by the powerful nobles, the meager Assembly, which had once been a muster of all the weapon-bearing men of the tribe, became a feeble gathering of a few peasants and lesser townsmen, who could gain no greater recognition of their old-time right of self-government than the poor privilege of voting to concur in the actions already decided upon by the king and the Council. The peasant returned to his little farm and was less and less inclined to attend the Assembly at all. Indeed, he was fortunate if he could struggle on and maintain himself and family from his scanty fields. Many of his neighbors sank into debt, lost their lands to the noble class, and themselves became day laborers for more fortunate men, or, still worse, sold themselves to discharge their debts and thus became slaves. These day laborers and slaves had no political rights and were not permitted to vote in the Assembly.

The struggle of the peasant class

Disunion of the city-states

There were hundreds of such city-states in Greece, and, of course, the more powerful endeavored to seize the land of the weaker — a tendency resulting in frequent petty wars, some of which continued for a thousand years of intermittent hostilities down into Roman days. The country was so cut up by mountains and deep bays that the various state communities were quite separated. They thus developed local habits and local dialects as different as those of North and South Germany, or Brittany and Provence, or even more different than those of our own Louisiana and New England. Such differences made union difficult. Only two complete and permanent unions were effected among the various groups of Greek city-states: one under the leadership of *Sparta* in Laconica and the other in

Two unions under Sparta and Athens

Attica under the control of *Athens*. Both of these states, of course, made various endeavors at expansion, as we shall see. Loose groups of city-states elsewhere, as in Thessaly, arose here and there, but these alliances did not prove stable or permanent.

Motives toward union

Although no political union into a single Greek nation was possible, religion and commerce furnished motives toward intimate relationships. In order that all might have a voice in the management of great temples or holy places revered by all the Greeks, the different city-states concerned formed several religious councils, called "amphictyonies," in the membership of which each state had representatives. The most notable of these were the council for the control of the Olympic Games, another for the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and also the council for the great annual feast of Apollo in the Island of Delos.

Religious councils

Trade

For the adjustment of trade between the states there were only the most primitive arrangements. A stranger sojourning abroad had no legal rights in a foreign city, and could only secure protection by appealing to the old desert custom of "hospitality," after he had been received by a friendly citizen as a guest. For the reception of a foreigner who might have no friend to be his host, a citizen was sometimes appointed to act as official host representing the city. A sentiment of unity also arose under the influence of the Homeric songs (p. 142) with which every Greek was familiar — a common inheritance depicting all the Greeks united against the Asiatic city of Troy (Fig. 71).

Language an influence toward unity

Barbarians and Hellenes

Such influences as these led the Greeks to regard themselves as a distinct body of people closely bound together by ties of race, language, customs, common traditions, religion, and trade. They called all men not of Greek blood "barbarians," a word not originally a term of reproach for the non-Greeks. Then the Greek sense of unity found expression in the first all-inclusive term for themselves. They gradually came to call themselves "Hellenes," and found pleasure in the belief that they had all descended from a common ancestor called Hellen. But it should be clearly understood that this new designation did not

define a political *nation* of the Greeks, but only the group of Greek-speaking peoples or states, often at war with one another as hostile nations. The most fatal defect in Greek character was the inability of these states to forget their local differences and jealousies and to unite into a common federation or great nation including all Greeks.[1]

QUESTIONS

SECTION 20. Give an account of the Mediterranean: its shores, extent, climate, and the early food products. Discuss the incoming of metal in Europe, and the outgoing Stone Age. Did Europe *as a whole* at once advance to high civilization? Where did the advance begin and under what influences? Give an account of the early Ægean and Asia Minor peoples. Who were the Hittites? Where was their home? their capital (Fig. 59)?

Who were the Trojans and where was their city? Did the mainland or the islands lead the way in the first great advance of Ægean civilization? Where is Crete (read explanation of Fig. 87)? Under what influences did Cretan civilization advance? Mention some examples of this influence. What do you know of Cretan art? Was it mere imitation of Egypt? When did Cretan civilization culminate?

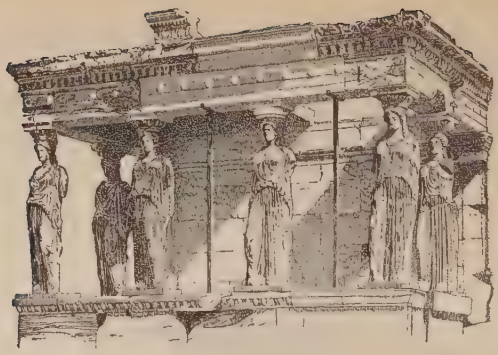
SECTION 21. Where did Cretan civilization begin on the mainland? Did it spread throughout Greece? Give some account of civilization on the mainland of Greece when the Greeks came in. To what great race do the Greeks belong? Whence did their ancestors come? How did they enter Greece? Were they nomads or townsmen? Who were two of the earliest Greek peoples in Greece?

What became of the old pre-Greek Ægean people of Greece? Have we found such a situation anywhere else? Whither did the Greeks next go? What now happened to Crete? Who were the Philistines? What Ægean lands did the Greeks finally hold?

SECTION 22. Describe the transition of the Greeks from nomad to settled life. Describe their government and its different institutions. What problems did their new settled life create? What about writing among them?

[1] We may recall here how slow were the thirteen colonies of America to suppress local pride sufficiently to adopt a constitution uniting all thirteen into a nation. It was local differences similar to those among the Greeks which afterward caused our Civil War.

Describe the rise of the Greek city. What is a city-state? Who were the eupatrids? How did they gain power? What then happened to the peasant in the city-state? How did he and the Assembly lose power? What were the relations of these city-states to each other? What two unions early took place? What were the influences toward a union of all Greek city-states? Did a feeling of union result in a single political nation uniting all Greeks?



CHAPTER VI

THE AGE OF THE NOBLES AND THE TYRANTS IN GREECE

Section 23. Civilization in the Age of the Nobles

The overthrow of the kings

We have seen how the noble class and the Council which it controlled had finally shorn the popular Assembly of its power. The same nobles not only thus crushed the *people* below but they also slowly undermined the power of the *king* above. In the century between 750 and 650 B.C. the kingship quite generally disappeared, and the leader of the State became an elective officer chosen for a year.[1] At Athens he was termed "archon," or "ruler." With the disappearance of the king the royal castle (Fig. 67) was vacated. As it fell into decay the old holy places and shrines which it protected were still cherished, but they

The old royal citadel becomes the place of the State temples

[1] A noticeable exception, however, was Sparta, where the Assembly of the people still retained its power. The voting citizens forming the Assembly became a military class, controlling a large body of slaves and other nonvoters in neighboring communities. Thus the whole body of voting citizens became a superior class, who were really nobles. This class did not depose the king but checked his power by maintaining *two* kings at once, and by the appointment of administrative officers who held some of the privileges formerly enjoyed by the king.

were gradually transformed into temples. Thus on the citadel at Athens, there had been a palace of the old king Erechtheus. The little shrine of Athena in this palace later became a temple of the goddess, called the "Erechtheum,"[1] after the old king. In this way the castle of the ancient Attic kings was followed by the famous temples of Athens on the citadel mount, called the Acropolis (Fig. 91 and Plate III).

Beginnings of Greek navigation and commerce

During the centuries of social and political ferment which brought forth a noble class and placed them in power, the civilization of the Ægean world had undergone great changes. The open-minded and clever Greek had meantime learned from his Ægean predecessors many of the arts which had so highly developed in the days of Cretan splendor. Iron had become common after 1000 B.C. and had deeply influenced all industry. The Ægean waters gradually grew familiar to the Greek communities, until they proved a far easier line of communication than a road through the same number of miles of forest and mountain.

Commercial leadership of the Ionians

Especially important and rich was the traffic between the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast on the east and Attica and Eubœa on the European side. Among the Asiatic Greeks it was the Ionian cities which led in this commerce. The ships used by all were open, undecked craft accommodating about fifty oarsmen. The Greek trader was met by sharp competition in the hands of Phœnician mariners and merchants, who were common in these waters since Cretan days. Once dwellers in the desert, like the Hebrews and other Semites, the Phœnician townsmen along the Syrian coast (see Fig. 72 and map, p. 56) early took to the sea and became clever navigators. They gained a foothold in Cyprus and thence sailed into the Ægean. The Phœnician craftsman of Tyre or Sidon was a clever imitator. He received the patterns and the methods of the older oriental civilizations, especially Egypt and Assyria, and easily employed them

Phœnicians

[1] The porch of the Erechtheum, supported by figures of beautiful maidens, will be found as headpiece of this chapter. The situation of the building on the Acropolis may be seen in Fig. 91, at the extreme left (east) end of the Parthenon.

for his own gains. Great Phœnician platters of metal with rich Egyptian designs,[1] fine linens and purple raiment, Egyptian glass and porcelain, — all things which the Greek craftsman could not yet equal, — these made the Phœnician galley a welcome sight in every harbor of Greece. As Crete once kept the

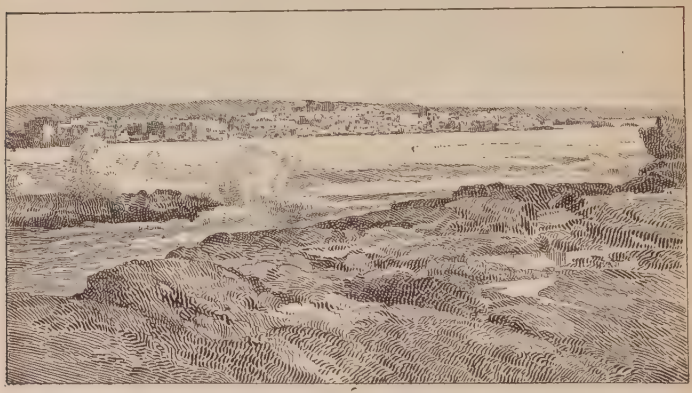


FIG. 72. THE ANCIENT PHŒNICIAN HARBOR OF SIDON AS IT NOW APPEARS

It was from this harbor that the Phœnician colonists sailed forth to establish new cities in the western Mediterranean, especially Carthage (p. 257). The town seen across the harbor is entirely modern, for the ancient city was again and again destroyed and rebuilt. Here the Phœnician ships were loaded with the goods manufactured in the city (see *Ancient Times*, Figs. 157 and 158), to be carried to the Greeks and other Mediterranean peoples; and here an alphabet first came into common use (p. 139)

Ægeans in close connection with the Orient, so now the Phœnicians played the same part for the Greeks. The work of the Phœnician craftsmen spread widely and became proverbial in Greece, appearing often in the Homeric songs (p. 142). The influence of such work gave to early Greek crafts a decidedly oriental character, which continued for a long time.

[1] The flat, round dish of pure silver shown at the end of this chapter (p. 165) is a good example of such work as done in Egypt. The design shows a marsh as a circle of water around the center, with plentiful vegetation, and four Egyptian boats bearing a picnic party.

The Greeks receive the Phœnician alphabet

The Greek now received from the Phœnician a priceless gift, far more valuable than all the manufactured wares of the Orient. This new gift was an alphabet. Until long after 1000 B.C. the Greek was as unable to write as he had been on the grasslands of inner Asia fifteen hundred years earlier. The Orient, however, as we have seen (pp. 21, 62), had been writing for several thousand years. The Phœnician merchant had by this time long abandoned the inconvenient Babylonian clay tablet (p. 62). About 1000 B.C. he or his kinsmen had developed an alphabet of twenty-two consonants but still without any signs for the vowels[1] (p. 71). For several centuries the Phœnicians of the city of Byblos had been importing the Egyptian papyrus paper (p. 22), on which they wrote with their new alphabet.[2] The Greek merchant, thumbing the bits of papyrus bearing the Phœnician tradesman's written list of goods, finally learned the alphabet in which it was written, and slowly began to note down *Greek* words in the same way. Here the Greek soon displayed his usual mental superiority; for, finding signs for certain Phœnician sounds which did not occur in Greek and were therefore superfluous to him, he used these signs for the Greek *vowels* and thus perfected the first complete system of alphabetic writing. It slowly spread among the Greek states, beginning in Ionia. It long remained only a convenience in business and administration. For centuries the nobles, unable to read or write, regarded writing with misgivings. The Homeric songs (p. 142), which were at first not written but were handed down orally from generation to generation, speak of the "deadly signs" used in writing. But even the painters of pottery jars had learned to use it by 700 B.C., when we find it on their decorated vases (compare Fig. 75). Shortly after this it was common

Greek in Phœnician letters; the earliest writing on European continent

[1] They probably devised it, by adaptation from Egyptian signs, or at least under their influence.

[2] It is important to notice that all the alphabets of western Asia and all the alphabets of European countries, including our own alphabet, are descended from this old Phœnician alphabet. The student should recall its adoption by the Arameans (p. 71) and its spread eastward under the Persians (p. 98).

among all classes.[1] Literature, nevertheless, long remained an oral matter and was much slower than business to resort to writing.

Earliest books in Europe

The Greeks often called the Egyptian paper, brought in by the Phœnicians, *byblos*,[2] after the name of the Phœnician city by way of which it came. Thus when they began to write books on rolls of such paper (Fig. 104) they called them *biblia*. It is from this term that we received our word "Bible" (literally "book" or "books"), and hence the English word "Bible," once the name of a Phœnician city, is a living evidence of the origin of books and the paper they are made of, in the ancient Orient, from which the Greek received so much.

Athletic games

There was now wide intercourse among the Greek states; the constant commingling of their interests, the ebb and flow of their material life, developed and refined the Greek mind. The life which the Hellenes now led was much richer and more highly developed than that of their rude nomad ancestors. The contests in feats of arms and athletic games with which they had been accustomed to honor the burial of a hero in earlier days finally came to be practiced at stated seasons in honor of the gods. As early as 776 B.C. such contests were celebrated as public festivals at Olympia. Repeated every four years, they eventually aroused the interest and participation of all Greece. Later, similar contests were also established elsewhere (Figs. 81, 82). Various Greek states offered money prizes to the victors, and the winners were regarded as having gained undying fame both for themselves and the fortunate cities to which they belonged. They were finally celebrated by the

[1] Few Greek inscriptions now surviving are as early as the seventh century B.C. The earliest inscription dated with precision belongs a little after 600 B.C. The written list of victors in the Olympian games went back to 776 B.C.

[2] In view of the fact that the Egyptians were exporting papyrus paper to Byblos by the 12th century B.C., it is evident that the Greeks called it *byblos* because they received it from there, as we call stuff from Damascus "damask," and from Calicut "calico." Another Greek word for Egyptian paper was "papyros," hence our word "paper" (see p. 23, note 1).

greatest poets, an honor which led the noble class to spend much of their time in manly exercises.

In art there had been distinct decay in the Ægean with the incoming of the Greeks. The art of the Cretan palaces which the Dorians had sent up in smoke and flame long surpassed anything the Greek could produce. Echoes of it survived on the coast of Asia Minor, where they were finally received by the Ionian Greeks. But for a long time the early Greeks fell under the influence of the oriental art imported in such abundance in the works of the Phœnician craftsman. Greek sculpture had hardly begun to produce rude figures; painting was confined to the decorative efforts of the craftsman, like the work of the painter of pottery jars. There was no great architecture, for the State employed only the simplest buildings of sun-baked brick, and the earliest Greek temples were merely houses, like those of private citizens, consisting of a square room built of sun-baked brick, with a wooden roof and timbers, and a porch across the front with wooden posts supporting it.

Early Greek art

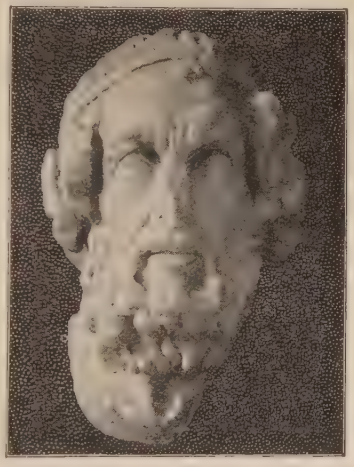


FIG. 73. AN IDEAL PORTRAIT OF HOMER

This head, from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, is a noble example of the Greek sculptor's ability to create an ideal portrait of a poet whom he had never seen. Such work was unknown in the archaic days of Greece; it was produced in the Hellenistic Age (p. 232)

It was in literature that Greek genius achieved its first great triumph in this age of the disappearing kingship and the rule of the nobles. In the pastures of Thessaly where the singer

Literature

looked up at the cloud-veiled summit of Mount Olympus (Fig. 69), the home of the gods, there grew up a group of songs telling many a story of the feats of gods and heroes. Into these songs were woven also vague memories of remote wars which had actually occurred. By 1000 B.C. these songs had crossed to the coasts and islands of Ionia on the Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea.

The hero songs

The Ionian singers

Here arose a class of professional bards who graced the feasts of king and noble with songs of battle and adventure recited to the music of the harp. Framed in exalted and ancient forms of speech, and rolling on in stately measures,[1] these heroic songs resounded through many a royal hall — the oldest literature born in Europe. After the separate songs had greatly increased in number, they were finally woven together by the bards into a connected whole — a great epic cycle especially clustering about the traditions of the Greek expedition against Troy. They were not the work of one man, but a growth of several centuries by generations of singers, some of whom were still living even after 700 B.C. It was then that they were first written down.

Homer

Among these ancient singers there seems to have been one of great fame whose name was Homer (Fig. 73). His reputation was such that the composition of the whole cycle of songs, then much larger than it now is, was attributed to him. Then as the Greeks themselves later discerned the impossibility of Homer's authorship of them *all*, they credited him only with the Iliad,[2] the story of the Greek expedition against Troy; and the Odyssey, or the tale of the wanderings of the hero Odysseus on his return from Troy. These are the only two series of songs that have entirely survived, and even the ancient world had its doubts about the Homeric authorship of the Odyssey. These ancient bards not only gave the world its greatest epic

Iliad and Odyssey

[1] These were in hexameter; that is, six feet to a line. This Greek verse is the oldest literary form in Europe.

[2] So named after Ilium, the Greek name of Troy.

in the Iliad, but they were, moreover, the earliest Greeks to put into permanent literary form their thoughts regarding the world of gods and men. At that time the Greeks had no other sacred books, and the Homeric songs became the veritable Bible of Greece. They gave to the disunited Greeks a common literature and the inspiring belief that they had once all taken part in a common war against Asia. But the heroic world of glorious achievement in which the vision of these early singers moved, passed away, and with it passed their art.

Hesiod and the earliest cry for social justice in Europe

The Homeric singers never refer to themselves; they never speak of their *own* lives, but retire behind the stirring pictures of heroic adventure which absorb their thought and completely occupy them with the lives of their heroes who had died long, long before. But now the problems of the *present* begin to press hard upon the minds of men; the peasant farmer's distressing struggle for existence (see p. 132) makes men conscious of very present needs. Their *own* lives become a great and living theme. The voices that once chanted the hero songs die away, and now we hear the first voice raised in Europe on behalf of the poor and humble. Hesiod, an obscure farmer under the shadow of Mount Helicon in Bœotia, sings of the dreary and hopeless life of the peasant — of his *own* life as he struggles on under a burden too heavy for his shoulders. We even hear how his brother Persis seized the lands left by their father, and then bribed the judges to confirm him in their possession.

Social forces and literature

It is not a little interesting to observe that this earliest protest against the tyrannies of wealthy town life is raised at the very moment when across the corner of the Mediterranean the once nomad Hebrews are passing through the same experience (see p. 104). The voice of Hesiod raising the cry for social justice in Greece sounds like an echo from Palestine. We should notice also that in Palestine the cry for social justice resulted finally in a *religion* of brotherly kindness, whereas in Greece it resulted in democratic *institutions*, the rule of the people who refused longer to submit to the oppressions of the few and powerful.

Early religion of the Greeks

Homer was the religious teacher of the Greeks, for the Homeric songs brought vividly before them the world of the gods. In this Homeric world the gods have become human,

Influence of the Homeric songs

and act like men. Of course they possess more power than mortals, and at the same time they enjoy the gift of immortality which raises them high above the world of men. Each god has

The gods and their domains

a kingdom and a function of his own. Zeus rules the sky; Dionysus brings forth the vine, and the goddess Demeter the wheat, from the earth which both control; Poseidon rules the sea; Athena with shining weapons glories in war; Apollo with his golden arrows is the deadly archer of the gods, and Hermes of the winged feet is their messenger; Hera is protectress

Their human defects

of marriage, and Aphrodite the goddess of love. They show decidedly human defects of character; they practice all sorts of deceit and display many other human frailties.

The hereafter

Nor do the gods demand anything better in the character of men, for at death all men go to a gloomy world of spirits beneath the earth (Hades), where no distinction is made between good and bad. As a special favor of the gods, the heroes are at last endowed with immortality and permitted to enjoy a life of endless bliss in the beautiful Elysian Fields or the Islands of the Blest somewhere in the Far West, toward the unexplored

Altars and temples

ocean. The altars of the gods were at first always set up under the open sky[1] without any sheltering roofs, as we should expect among tribes of wandering shepherds. But the settled life had brought permanent shrines in the royal castle, and, when the castle was vacated by the king (p. 136), these shrines became temples, dwelling houses of the gods, made like the dwellings of men. The citadel mount was thus transformed into the sacred inclosure of the gods, like the Acropolis of Athens (Fig. 91).

[1] See the altar in the forecourt of the prehistoric castle of Tiryns (Fig. 67). The place of the altar is marked by a little rectangle in the front part of the forecourt *H*, behind the entrance *G*.

FIG. 74. RUINS OF THE GREEK THEATER AT TAORMINA (ANCIENT TAUROMENIUM), SICILY

The Greek colony of Tauromenium was on the east coast of Sicily (see map, p. 245). We look down from the seats of the theater, across the stage below (compare Fig. 94), where a gap in the wall behind the stage reveals a long vista of the beautiful Sicilian shore; while in the distance towers the majestic volcano of Etna, nearly eleven thousand feet high, often displaying a wisp of smoke above its crown of snow

Section 24. Greek Expansion in the Age of the Nobles

Greek colonies in the Black Sea

The oppressive rule of the nobles, and the resulting impoverishment of the peasants, was an important influence, leading the Greek farmers to seek new homes and new lands beyond the Ægean world. Greek merchants were not only trafficking with the northern Ægean, but their vessels had penetrated the great northern sea, which they called the "Pontus," known to us as the Black Sea (see map, p. 146). Their trading stations among the descendants of the Stone Age peoples in these distant regions offered to the discontented farmers of Greece plenty of land with which to begin life over again. Before 600 B.C. they girdled the Black Sea with their towns and settlements, but no such development of Greek genius took place in this harsher climate of the north as we shall find in the Ægean. The Pontus became the granary of Greece but never contributed anything to its higher life.

Greek colonies in the east — southern Asia Minor and Cyprus

In the east, along the southern coasts of Asia Minor, there were already maritime peoples in possession; but Greek expansion in this direction was stopped by the Assyrian Sennacherib (p. 72) when he defeated a body of Greeks in Cilicia about 700 B.C., in the earliest collision between the Hellenes and a great power of the Tigris-Euphrates world. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean, Greek colonists absorbed nearly all of

Cyprus

the large Island of Cyprus, which long remained the easternmost outpost of the Greek world. In the south they found a

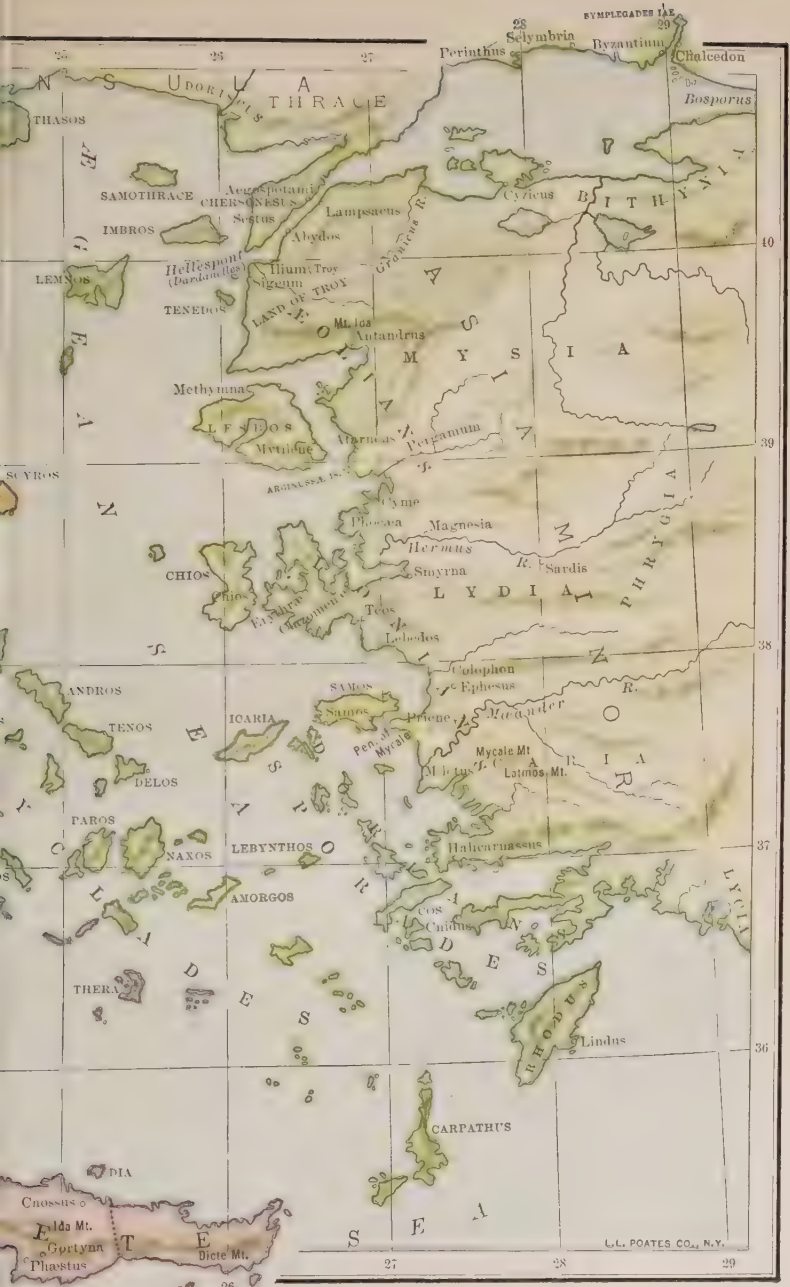
Egypt and Cyrene

friendly reception in Egypt, where they were permitted to establish a trading city at Naukratis (Mistress of Ships), the predecessor of Alexandria. West of the Delta also they eventually founded Cyrene.

Discovery of the west

It was the unknown west, however, which became the America of the early Greek colonists. Many a Columbus pushed his ship into this strange region of mysterious dangers on the distant borders of the world, where the heroes were believed to live in

GREECE
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.


SYMPLEGADES I.
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Perinthus
Bosporus
THRACE
THASOS
SAMOTHRACE
CHERSONESUS
Aegospotami
Sestus
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
BITHYNIA
IMBROS
Abydos
Granicus R.
Hellespont
(Dardanelles)
Ilium, Troy
Sigeum
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
LAND OF TROY
Mt. Ida
Antandrus
MYSIA
Methymna
LESBOS
Mytilene
Pergamum
Caicus R.
SCYROS
ARGINUSSAE Is.
Cyme
Phocaea
Magnesia
Hermus R.
Smyrna
Sardis
PHRYGIA
CHIOS
Chios
LYDIA
Erythraea
Clazomenae
Teos
Lebedos
Colophon
Ephesus
ANDROS
SAMOS
Samos
TENOS
ICARIA
Priene
Maeander R.
Peninsula of Mycale
Mycale Mt.
Miletus
Latmos Mt.
CARIA
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
LEBYNTHOS
Halicarnassus
AMORGOS
Cos
Chalcus
LYCIA
THERA
Lindus
RHODES
CARPATHUS
CRETE
Chossus
Ida Mt.
Gortyna
Phaestus
Dicte Mt.
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.

the Islands of the Blest. But step by step the dreaded regions were explored. Flourishing cities like Corinth, in trading with the western coast of Greece, pushed northward, where the seamen could discover the shores of Italy as they looked westward toward the heel of that great peninsula. It was indeed but fifty miles distant from the west coast of Greece. When they had once crossed to it, their trading ventures carried them on coasting voyages around Sicily and northward far into the west, at last even to the then unknown shores which we call the French and Spanish coasts. Here was a new world. Its discovery was as momentous for the Greeks as that of America for later Europe.

Greek colonies in the west—southern Italy

By 750 B.C. their colonies appeared in this new western world, and within a century they fringed southern Italy from the heel to a point well above the instep north of Naples, which was also a Greek colony known as "Neapolis," or "New City," like our Newburgh or Newtown. So numerous were the Greek settlements that this region of southern Italy came to be known as "Great Greece."[1] Here the Greek colonists looked northward to the hills crowned by the rude settlements which were destined to become Rome. They little dreamed that this insignificant town would yet rule the world, making even the proud cities of their homeland its tributaries. As the Greeks were superior in civilization to all the other dwellers in Italy, *the civilized history of that great peninsula begins with the advent of the Hellenes.* They first brought in such things as writing, literature, architecture, and art (see headpiece of Chapter VII, p. 166).

Rome

Sicily and the far west

The Greek colonists crossed over also to Sicily (Fig. 74), where they drove out the Phœnician trading posts except at the western end of the island, and there the Phœnicians held their own. These Greek colonists in the west shared in the higher life of the homeland; and Syracuse, at the southeast

[1] One of the oldest of all Greek temples now surviving stands in a wonderful state of preservation on the Italian coast south of Naples at the ancient Poseidonia (Poseidon's town), afterward called Pæstum. It was built about 500 B.C. (see the drawing at head of Chapter VII, p. 166).

corner of the Island of Sicily, became at one time the most cultivated, as well as the most powerful, city of the Greek world. At Massilia (Marseilles), on the coast of later France, the western Greeks founded a town which controlled the trade up the Rhone valley; and they reached over even to the Mediterranean coasts of Spain, attracted by the silver mines of Tartessus.

Racial aspects of ancient colonization in the Mediterranean

Thus, under the rule of the eupatrids, the Hellenes expanded till they stretched from the Black Sea along the north shore of the Mediterranean almost to the Atlantic. In this imposing movement we recognize a part of the far outstretched western wing of the Indo-European line (see p. 87); but at the same time we discover that the Semite has also taken to the water, and in the Phœnician Empire of Carthage, reaching from Sicily along the northern coast of Africa even to the Atlantic coast of Spain, the Semite has likewise flung out his western wing along the *southern* Mediterranean, facing the Indo-European peoples on the *north*.[1]

Section 25. The Industrial and Commercial Revolution

Growth of Greek commerce and industry

The remarkable colonial expansion of the Greeks, together with the growth of industries in the home cities, led to profound changes. The new colonies not only had needs of their own, but they also made connections with the inland, behind which opened up extensive regions of Europe as a market for Greek wares. The home cities at once began to meet this demand for goods of all sorts. The Ionian cities led the way as usual, but the islands also, and finally the Greek mainland, felt the new impulse. Ere long the great commercial fleets of the Hellenes were threading their way along all the coasts of the northern, western, and southeastern Mediterranean, bearing to distant communities Greek metal work, woven goods, and pottery. They brought

[1] The diagram (Fig. 49) should be carefully studied again at this point, especially the west end. Compare the diagram with map of Roman Empire.

International market on the island of Delos

back either raw materials and foodstuffs, such as grain, fish, and amber, or finished products like the magnificent utensils in bronze from the cities of the Etruscans in northern Italy (p. 246 and Fig. 107). At the yearly feast and market on the Island of Delos the Greek householder found the Etruscan bronzes of the West side by side with the gay carpets of the Orient.

FIG. 75. AN ATHENIAN PAINTED VASE OF THE EARLY SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

This magnificent work (over thirty inches high) was found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy (see map, p. 245), whither it had been exported by the Athenian makers in the days of Solon (pp. 155 ff.). It is signed by the potter Ergotimos, who gave the vase its beautiful shape, and also by the painter Clitias, whose skillful hand executed the sumptuous painted scenes extending in bands entirely around the vase. These decorations represent the final emancipation of the Greek painter from oriental influences, so marked before this time, and the triumph of his own imagination in depicting scenes from Greek stories of the gods and heroes. On the wide distribution of the works of these two artists see pp. 150–151

To meet the increasing demands of trade the Greek craftsman was obliged to enlarge his small shop, once perhaps only large enough to supply the wants of a single estate. Unable to find the necessary workmen, the proprietor who had the means bought slaves, trained them to the work, and thus enlarged his little stall into a factory with a score of hands. Henceforth industrial slave labor became an important part of Greek life.

Athens entered the field of industry much later than the Ionian cities, but when she did so, she won victories not less decisive

Expansion of Athenian commerce

than her later triumphs in art, literature, philosophy, or war. Her factories must have assumed a size quite unprecedented in the Greek world, for of the painted Greek vases — discovered

FIG. 76. THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH, THE LINK BETWEEN THE PELOPONNESUS AND NORTHERN GREECE

The observer stands on the hills south of ancient Corinth (out of range on the left) and looks northeastward along the isthmus, on both sides of which the sea is visible. On the left (west) we see the tip of the Gulf of Corinth (see map, p. 146), and on the right (east) the Saronic Gulf. The commerce across this isthmus from the Orient to the West made the Gulf of Corinth an important center of traffic westward, and Corinth early became a flourishing commercial city. Through this sole gateway of the Peloponnesus (see map, p. 146) passed back and forth for centuries the leading men of Greece, and especially the armies of Sparta, some sixty miles distant (behind the observer). The faint white line in the middle of the isthmus is the modern canal — a cut from sea to sea, about four miles long and nearly two hundred feet deep at the crest of the watershed

by excavation — which are signed by the artist, about half are found to have come from only six factories at Athens. It is not a little impressive at the present day to see the modern excavator

opening tombs far toward the interior of Asia Minor and taking out vases bearing the signature of the same Athenian vase-painter whose name you may also read on vases dug out of the Nile Delta in northern Africa, or taken from tombs in cemeteries of the Etruscan cities of Italy (Fig. 75). We suddenly gain a picture of the Athenian craftsman and merchant in touch with a vast commercial domain extending far across the ancient world.

Soon the shipbuilder, responding to the growing commerce, began to build craft far larger than the old "fifty-oar" galleys of the Homeric Age. The new "merchantmen" were driven by sails, an Egyptian invention of ages before (Fig. 14). They were so large that they could no longer be drawn up on the strand as before; sheltered harbors were necessary, and for the first time in history the anchor appeared. The protection of such

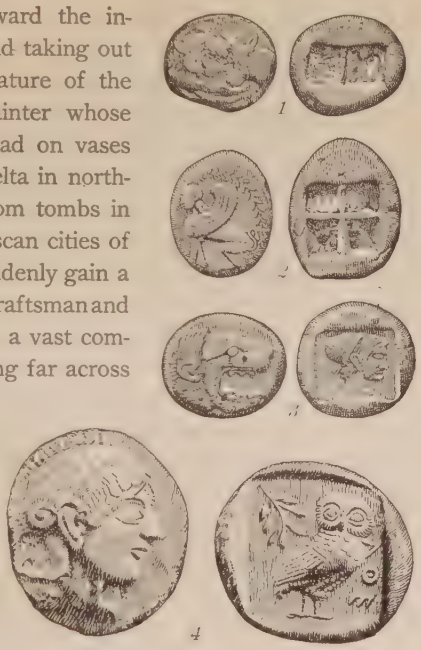


FIG. 77. SPECIMENS ILLUSTRATING THE BEGINNING OF COINAGE

These are rough lumps of silver, as long before used in the Orient (pp. 38, 67), flattened by the pressure of the stamp. Gradually they became round, and the stamp itself was finally made round instead of square, as in these early examples. *1*, both sides of a Lydian coin (p. 98) (about 550 B.C.); *2*, both sides of a coin of the Greek island of Chios (500 B.C.), showing how the Greeks followed the Lydian model (*1*); *3*, both sides of a Carian coin of Cnidus (650–550 B.C.), an example of the square stamp; *4*, both sides of a coin of Athens (sixth century B.C.), bearing head of goddess Athena and an owl with olive branch (square stamp). The inscription is an abbreviation of "Athens"

merchant ships demanded more effective warships, and the distinction arose between a "man-o'-war," or battleship, and a "merchantman." Corinth (Fig. 76), an older commercial center than Athens, boasted the production of the first decked warships, a great improvement, giving the warriors above more room and better footing, and protecting the oarsmen below. The latter were arranged in three rows, three men on the same bench, each man wielding an oar, and thus the power of an old "fifty-oar" could be multiplied by three without essentially increasing the size of the craft. These innovations were all in common use by 500 B.C. With their superior equipment on the sea, the Hellenes were soon beating the Phœnicians in the Mediterranean markets, and at the same time the Greek craftsmen had not only broken away from the leading strings of the Orient, but were already showing superiority in many lines of industry and art.

Corinth and decked warships

Introduction of coinage

The Ionian cities, which enjoyed important commerce with the peoples of inner Asia Minor, besides receiving the Babylonian system of weights and measures,[1] began to use the precious metals in making business payments. The metals were first used in bars and rods of a given weight, as had been the custom in the Orient for thousands of years before (pp. 38, 67). When the kings of Lydia early in the seventh century B.C. began to cut up these bars into small pieces of a fixed weight, and to stamp these pieces with some symbol of the king or state, we have the earliest coined money (Fig. 77, *1*). The Ionian cities were soon using this new convenience, and it quickly passed thence to the islands and the European Greeks (Fig. 77, *2–4*). It rapidly became a powerful influence in Greek society.

Rise of a capitalistic class

Wealth had formerly consisted of land and flocks, but now men began to accumulate capital in *money*; loans were made, and the use of interest came in from the Orient. The developing industries and the commercial ventures on the seas rapidly created

[1] This system has 60 as a basis and underlies also the division of the circle (360°) which we have inherited. The smaller subdivisions of Greek weights were on a *decimal* system derived from Egypt.

fortunes among a class before obscure. There arose a prosperous industrial and commercial middle class who demanded a voice in the government. At the beginning of the sixth century B.C. even a noble like Solon could say, "Money makes the man."

Section 26. Rise of the Democracy and the Age of the Tyrants

Decline of the peasantry and the coming of the "tyrants"

While the prosperous capitalistic class was thus arising, the condition of the peasant on his lands grew steadily worse. His fields were dotted with stones, each the sign of a mortgage. The wealthy creditors were foreclosing these mortgages and taking the lands; and the unhappy owners were being sold into foreign slavery, or were fleeing abroad to escape such bonds. The eupatrids in control did nothing as a class to improve the situation. They were usually divided among themselves into hostile factions, however, and in time able leaders among them placed themselves at the head of the dissatisfied people in real or feigned sympathy with their cause. In this way such a leader of the nobles was able to gain the support of the people, and thus to overcome and expel his own rivals among the noble class and gain control of the State.

The "tyrant" and public opinion of his office

Such a ruler was in reality a king; but the new king differed from the kings of old, in that he had no royal ancestors and had seized the control of the State by violence. The people did not reverence him as of ancient royal lineage, and while they may have felt gratitude to him, they felt no loyalty. The position of such a ruler always remained insecure. The Greeks called such a man a "tyrant," which was not at that time a term of reproach as it is with us. The word "tyranny" was merely a term for the high office held by such a ruler. Nevertheless the instinctive feeling of the Greeks was that they were no longer free under such a prince, and the slayer of a tyrant was regarded as a hero and savior of the people.

Earliest written codes of law

One of the fancied remedies for their wrongs which the people had long demanded was the putting of the recognized laws into writing (Fig. 78). Hitherto all law, so long ago reduced to writing in the Orient (see Fig. 42), had been a matter of oral tradition

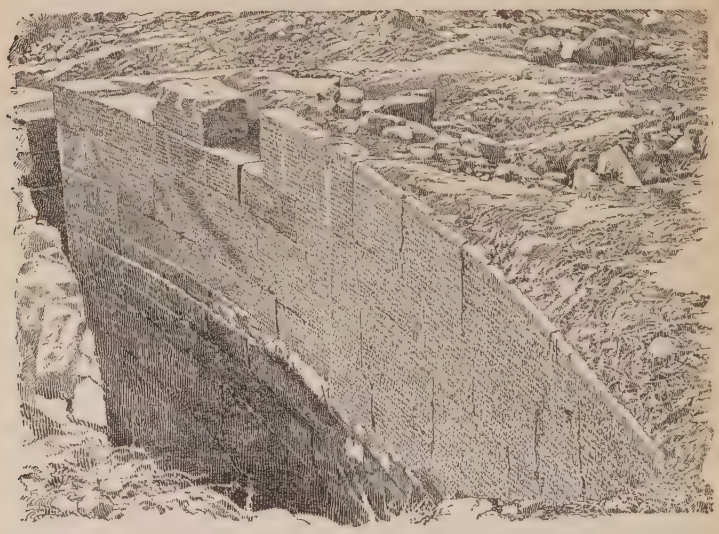


FIG. 78. RUINS OF THE ANCIENT COURTHOUSE OF GORTYNA AND THE EARLY GREEK CODE OF LAWS ENGRAVED ON ITS WALLS

This hall at Gortyna in Crete, dating from the sixth century B.C., was a circular building about one hundred and forty feet across, which served as a courthouse. If any citizen thought himself unjustly treated, he could appeal to the great code engraved in twelve columns on the inside of the stone wall of the building. It covers the curved surface of the wall for about thirty feet, but extends only as high as would permit it to be read easily. It forms the longest Greek inscription now surviving. This code shows a growing sense of justice toward a debtor and forbids a creditor to seize a debtor's tools or furniture for debt; this illustrates the tendency among the Greeks in the age of Solon (p. 155)

and custom in Greece. It was easy to twist such law to favor the man who gave the judge the largest present, just as the judge did for Persis when he swindled his brother Hesiod out of their

father's lands and secured them himself (see p. 143). After a long struggle the Athenians secured such a written code, arranged by a man named Draco about 624 B.C. It was an exceedingly severe code, so severe, in fact, that the adjective "Draconic" has passed into our language as a synonym for "harsh." It did nothing to relieve the agricultural class, and the mortgage stones in the Attic grain fields were no fewer than before.

Foreign complications of Athens

The situation in Athens was much complicated by hostilities with neighboring powers like Megara, Ægina, and Sparta. The merchants of Megara had seized the Island of Salamis (Fig. 86), overlooking the port of Athens, while a little further south was another commercial rival in the little Island of Ægina (see map, p. 146). The loss of Salamis and the failure of the eupatrids to recover it aroused intense indignation among the Athenians. Then a man of the old family to which the ancient kings of Athens had belonged, a wealthy noble named Solon, who had increased his wealth by many a commercial venture on the seas, roused his countrymen by fiery verses, calling upon the Athenians not to endure the shame of such a loss. Salamis was recovered, and Solon gained great popularity with all classes of Athenians.

Rise of Solon

Recovery of Salamis

Solon elected archon; his reforms

The verses of Solon (which in a later day when the Greeks had begun to write prose would have taken the form of political speeches) pictured the distressing condition of the Attic people with startling effect. The result was Solon's election as archon (p. 136) in 594 B.C. He was given full power to remedy the evil conditions. To save the peasants, he declared void all mortgages on land and all claims of creditors which endangered the liberty of a citizen. Furthermore, citizens who had been sold into foreign slavery to satisfy such claims Solon repurchased at the cost of the State, and they returned as free men to Attica. But Solon was a true statesman, and to the demands of the lower classes for a new apportionment of lands held by the eupatrids he would not yield. He did however set a limit to the amount of land which a noble might hold.

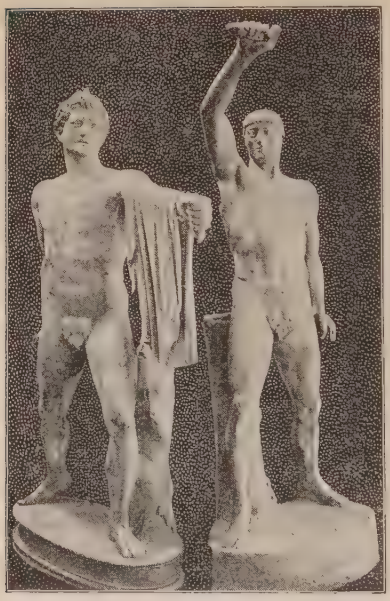


FIG. 79. MONUMENT OF THE TYRANT-SLAYERS OF ATHENS, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

On the slopes of the Areopagus (see plan, p. 173, and Fig. 91) overlooking the market place, the Athenians set up this group, depicting at the moment of attack the two heroic youths who lost their lives in an attempt to slay the two sons of Pisistratus and to free Athens from the two tyrants (514 B.C.) (p. 157). The group was carried off by the Persians after the battle of Salamis; the Athenians had another made to replace the first one. It was afterward recovered in Persia by Alexander or his successors and restored to its old place where both groups stood side by side. Our illustration is an ancient copy in marble, probably reproducing the later of the two groups

Further, he proclaimed a constitution which gave all but the very lowest classes a voice in the control of the State. It was not democratic, for it recognized an aristocracy of wealth as well as the old aristocracy of birth. It created a new class made up of the richest nobles, with an income of at least five hundred measures of grain, oil, and wine. As they paid the highest taxes, these nobles held the treasury offices, leaving to other nobles the remaining high offices; but the humblest free craftsman could vote in the Assembly of the people. Otherwise the established institutions were little changed by Solon. He left also a written code of law by which all free men were for the first time given equal rights in the courts. Some of these laws have descended to our own time and are still in force.

Solon is the first great Greek statesman of whom

we obtain an authentic picture, chiefly through those poems of his which have survived to our day. The leading trait of his character was moderation, combined with unfailing decision. When all expected that he would assume permanent authority over the Athenian State and make himself "tyrant" at the end of his official term, he laid down his archonship without a moment's hesitation and left the city for several years, to give his constitution a fair chance to work.

Pisistratus and his sons, tyrants of Athens

Solon saved Attica from a great social catastrophe, and it was chiefly due to his wise reforms that Athens achieved her industrial and commercial triumphs. But his work, though it deferred the humiliation, could not save the Athenian State from subjection to the tyrant. After an unsuccessful attempt to seize the government, Pisistratus, a member of one of the powerful eupatrid families, returned from exile and gained control of the Athenian State. He ruled with great sagacity and success, and many of the Athenians gave him sincere allegiance. But his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, though able men, were unable to overcome the prejudice against a ruler on whom the people had not conferred authority. One of the earliest exhibitions of that love of the State which we call patriotism is the outburst of enthusiasm at Athens when two youths, Harmodius and Aristogiton (Fig. 79), at the sacrifice of their own lives, struck down one of the tyrants (Hipparchus). Hippias, the other one, was eventually obliged to flee. Thus, shortly before 500 B.C., Athens was freed from her tyrants.

The reforms of Clisthenes

The people were now able to gain new power against the eupatrids by the efforts of a noble friendly to the lower classes, named Clisthenes. He broke up the old tribal divisions of blood and established purely *local* lines of division, so cleverly adjusted that city and country communities were combined to form part of each tribe. This gave the country communities an equal chance with the city. Moreover the development of tactics of war under the leadership of the Spartans had produced close masses of spearmen, each mass (phalanx) remaining an

Rise of the phalanx; disappearance of the individual champion

impenetrable unit throughout the battle. Against such infantry, the horsemen or the individual champions of ancient times, always men of the noble class, were powerless. Thus the demand for the ordinary citizen in the army much increased the importance and power of the *people* in the State as over against the *eupatrids*. The new tribal divisions of Clisthenes were also the military divisions of the country, and again, as in the old nomad days, citizenship and the bearing of arms in defense of the State were more closely identified. In the Assembly of the people and on the field of battle the townsman and the country peasant henceforth stood shoulder to shoulder.

Equality of city and country

Ostracism

In order to avoid the rise of a new tyrant, Clisthenes established a law that the people might once a year by vote declare any prominent citizen dangerous to the State and banish him for ten years. On the day appointed for the voting a citizen had only to pick up one of the pieces of broken pottery lying about the market place, write upon it the name of the citizen to be banished, and deposit it in the voting urn. As such a bit of pottery was called an "ostracon" (Fig. 88), to "ostracize" a man (literally to "potsherd" him) meant to interrupt his political career by banishment. Although the men of property (see p. 156) were still the only citizens to whom the office of archon and the other high offices were open, Attica had now (about 500 B.C.) gained a form of government giving the people a high degree of power, and the State was in large measure a democracy.

The "Seven Wise Men"

Although a tyrant here and there survived, especially in Asia Minor, Greece at this time passed out of the Age of the Tyrants. As a group, the leaders of this age made an impression upon the mind of the people which never entirely disappeared. They were the earliest statesmen in Greece, if not in history, and some of them were led by high-minded motives in their control of the Greek states. The people loved to quote their sayings, such as "Know thyself," a proverb which was carved over the entrance of the Apollo temple at Delphi; or Solon's wise

maxim, "Overdo nothing." There came to be collections of such sayings, and the most famous of the men of the age were grouped together as the "Seven Wise Men."[1]

Section 27. Civilization in the Age of the Tyrants

Architecture and sculpture

The Age of the Tyrants was a period of unprecedented progress among the Hellenes, in industries, in commerce, and in the higher life which we call civilization. The old sun-baked brick and wooden temples were replaced by structures of limestone, and the front of the temple of Apollo at Delphi was even clothed with marble, but the building was painted in colors as before. Sculpture adorned the temple front, the statues of the gods being in human form and showing strong influences from the Orient, especially Egypt. Not only religion but patriotism also found its voice in art, as shown by a noble group representing the two youths who endeavored to free Athens from the tyranny of the sons of Pisistratus (see p. 157 and Fig. 79).

Music

The tyrants loved music and it was much cultivated. A system of writing musical notes, meaning for music what the alphabet means for literature, now arose. The flute was a favorite instrument, and one musician even wrote a composition for the flute which was intended to tell the story of Apollo's fight with the dragon of Delphi.

Literature

In literature the old heroic meter of the Homeric poems, with its six feet, was abandoned for less stately and monotonous forms of verse.

The new poets

From serious discussions in verse like those of Solon (p. 155), the poets passed to the expression of momentary moods, longings, dreams, hopes, and fiery storms of passion. Each in his way found a wondrous world within *himself* which he thus pictured in short songs.

The Homeric songs were the impersonal voice of an age as a whole; but now these new songs reveal inner experiences of the

[1] The list of the Seven Wise Men is as follows: Solon of Athens, Periander of Corinth, Chilon of Sparta, Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, and Cleobulus of Lindus.

Sappho

individual singers. Among them the poetess Sappho was the earliest woman to gain undying fame in literature. In Sicily

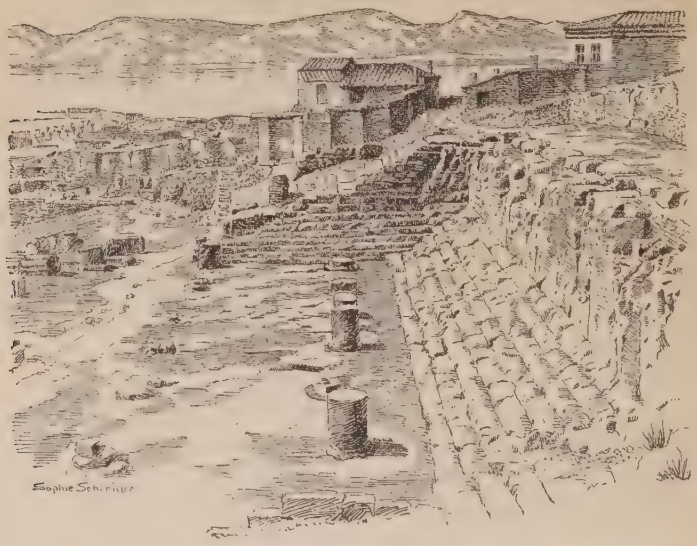


FIG. 80. RUINS OF THE HALL OF THE "MYSTERIES" AT ELEUSIS

Very little of the building survives; remnants of the columns once supporting the roof are seen on the left; on the right are the seats cut from the solid rock, on which the initiates (p. 162) sat while watching the sacred ceremonies of the "Mysteries," the spring and autumn feasts celebrated here. Especially at the autumn feast, after five days' preparation, multitudes came out from Athens, seventeen miles distant, along the Sacred Way, and spent five days more here at Eleusis. Emblems of the undying life of the earth, like heads of grain, displayed at these ceremonies, suggested the immortal life promised to all initiates (compare the similar Osirian beliefs, pp. 27–28). In the distance we see the Bay of Eleusis and beyond it the heights of the northern part of the Island of Salamis (Fig. 86 and map, p. 146)

Stesichorus

the poet Stesichorus developed a kind of country festival songs (the dithyramb), sung by peasant choruses as they marched in procession at many a picturesque harvest or spring feast. These songs told the stories of the gods from the old myths. They

were sung responsively by chorus and leader, and the leader illustrated with gestures the story told in the song. He thus became the forerunner of the actor in a play, and in Athens, not long after, such songs led to the drama actually presented in a theater (Fig. 94).

FIG. 81. VIEW OVER THE VALLEY AND RUINS OF DELPHI TO THE SEA

This splendid gorge in the slopes of Mount Parnassus on the north side of the Corinthian Gulf (see map, p. 146) was very early sacred to Apollo, who was said to have slain the dragon Pytho which lived here. The white line of road in the foreground is the highway descending to the distant arm of the Corinthian Gulf. On the left of this road the cliff descends sheer a thousand feet, and above the road (on its right) on the steep slope are the ruins of the sacred buildings of ancient Delphi, excavated by the French in recent years. We can see the zigzag road leading up the hill among the ruins just at the right of the main road (compare also Fig. 82)

Such literature reveals the profound changes in the religion of this age—changes due to the growing discrimination between right and wrong. Men could no longer believe that the gods led the evil lives pictured in the Homeric songs. Stesichorus had so high an ideal of womanly fidelity that he could not accept the tale of the beautiful Helen's faithlessness, and in his festival songs he told the ancient story in another way. Men now felt that even Zeus and his Olympian divinities must do the right. Mortals too must do the same; for men

New power of moral feeling

had now come to believe that in the world of the dead there was punishment for the evil-doer and blessedness for the good.

"Mysteries" at Eleusis

In the temple at Eleusis (Fig. 80) scenes from the mysterious earth life of Demeter and Dionysus, to whom men owe the fruits of the earth, are presented by the priests in dramatic form before the initiated, and he who views them may be received into the Islands of the Blessed, where once only the ancient heroes were admitted. Even the poorest slave is permitted to enter this fellowship and be initiated into the "Mysteries," as they were called. More than ever, also, men now turned to the gods for a knowledge of the future in this world. Everywhere it was believed that the oracle voice of Apollo revealed the outcome of every untried venture, and his shrine at Delphi (Figs. 81, 82) became a national religious center, to which the whole Greek world resorted.

Oracles

Greek thought in the Age of the Tyrants; Thales of Miletus, and the earliest-predicted eclipse (585 B.C.)

On the other hand, some thoughtful men began to reject the beliefs of the earlier day regarding the world and its control by the gods. When Thales of Miletus, from his study of the Babylonian astronomical lists (p. 84), correctly predicted an eclipse of the sun in the year 585 B.C. and boldly proclaimed that the movements of the heavenly bodies were due not to the whims of the gods but to fixed laws of nature, he banished the gods from a whole world of their former domain. Likewise, when the Greeks learned of the enormous age of the oriental peoples, especially of the Egyptians, it was at once perceived that the gods could not have been wandering on earth like men only a few generations earlier. Such men as Thales, therefore, became the founders of *natural science and philosophy*. At this point in their thinking they entered upon a new world, which had never dawned upon the greatest minds of the early East. This step remains and will forever remain the greatest achievement of the human intellect—an achievement to call forth the reverence and admiration of all time.

Just at this point, when the Greek was standing on the threshold of a new world, the Persian hosts suddenly advanced

FIG. 82. THE BUILDINGS OF DELPHI RESTORED. (AFTER HOMOLLE-TOURNAIRE)

Beginning with the seventh century B.C. this place became a national sanctuary of the Greeks, where all Greece and many foreigners came to hear the oracles of the revered Apollo (p. 144). His temple, many times rebuilt, was a Doric structure which we see rising in the middle of the inclosure. A zigzag way (cf. Fig. 81) passed up from the lower right-hand corner of this inclosure, and on each side of this way were ranged the treasuries containing the votive offerings of the Greeks to the great god — the statues and victorious trophies, many of them of gold and silver, presented by states, kings, and individuals. The value of these things proved fatal. It was finally plundered by the Romans (pp. 283–284), but although the Roman emperor Nero (54–68 A.D.) removed five hundred statues, there were still three thousand left here when Pliny visited the place some years later. Part of a magnificent tripod taken away from here by the Romans to adorn Constantinople may be seen in Fig. 130

Advance of Persia to the Ægean

to the Ægean (see p. 96) and absorbed the Ionian cities. The Persians represented a high civilization and an enlightened rule; but with these things went lack of free citizenship, political bondage, and intellectual subjection to religious tradition. Whether or not the Greek states had developed the power to throw off the Asiatic assailant, whose supremacy in Greece would have checked the free development of Greek genius along its own individual lines, — this was the question which now confronted the Hellenes. They little dreamed of the importance which the ensuing struggle would assume for the future career of civilized man.

QUESTIONS

Section 23. Who overthrew the Greek kings? Who then ruled? What institutions came in as a result? What became of the citadel and king's castle? Describe Greek commercial and industrial development in the Age of the Nobles. Who led in these matters? Who were the chief competitors of the Greeks? How did the Greeks gain an alphabet? How did such intercourse affect the Greeks?

What were the hero songs? Where did they chiefly flourish? To whom were they attributed? Which of them have come down to us? How does Hesiod differ from the Homeric singers? Give an account of him and compare him with the Hebrew prophets. Give some account of early Greek gods. Were they free from moral faults?

Section 24. Describe Greek colonization in north and east; in south and west. Whom did they find as competitors already in the west? Where were the Phœnician colonies? Which was the most famous? What two racial lines were then facing each other across the Mediterranean?

Section 25. How did the new colonies affect trade and industry in the homeland? Describe the growth of commerce. What were the results at Athens? Where was the painted vase of Fig. 75 made and where was it found? Has the work of its makers been found elsewhere? How did the growth of commerce affect shipbuilding? How and when did coinage arise? What class did the introduction of *money* create? What effect did it have on the peasants?

Section 26. How did some of the eupatrids make use of the discontent of the people? What is a "tyrant" in this ancient age? Why did the people demand written laws? Whose was the first

written code of laws in Athens? Did it prove a remedy for the distress of the peasant class? Who was Solon? Outline his reforms. Did Solon save Athens from the "tyranny"? Did the tyranny last long at Athens?

What reforms did Clisthenes introduce? What change in military service and weapons had now taken place? Of what advantage was this change to the ordinary citizen? What was ostracism? Tell something of the "Seven Wise Men."

SECTION 27. What advances in civilization were made in the Age of the Tyrants? in sculpture? music? literature? poetry? What progress do we now discover in religion? Was there now life hereafter for all? What were the "Mysteries" of Eleusis? What were oracles? Who was the great god of oracles and where was his temple?

Who was Thales? What did he do? What effect did his prediction have on thinking men's ideas of the world and its control by the gods? What did they thus create? Who now appeared in Asia Minor (p. 164)?

CHAPTER VII

THE REPULSE OF PERSIA AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Section 28. The Struggle with Persia

First Persian invasion of Europe

When the Ionian cities which Persia had captured in her advance to the Ægean[1] revolted, their friend and relative, Athens, sent twenty ships to aid them. This act brought a Persian army of revenge, under King Darius, into Europe. The long march across the Hellespont and through Thrace cost the invaders many men, and the fleet which formed one wing of the Persian advance was wrecked in trying to round the high promontory of Mount Athos (492 B.C.). The advance into Greece was therefore abandoned for a different plan of invasion, which would avoid the long march around the Hellespont.

Second Persian invasion

In the early summer of 490 B.C. a considerable fleet of transports and warships bearing the Persian host put out from the Island of Samos, sailed straight across the Ægean, and entered the straits between Eubœa and Attica (see map, p. 146, and Fig. 83). The Persians began by burning the little city of Eretria, which had also sent ships to aid the Ionians against Persia, and then landed on the shores of Attica, in the Bay of Marathon

[1] The student should here reread pp. 96–97.

(see map, p. 146, and Fig. 83), intending to march on Athens, the greater offender. They were guided by the aged Hippias, son of Pisistratus, once tyrant of Athens, who accompanied them with high hopes of regaining control of his native city.

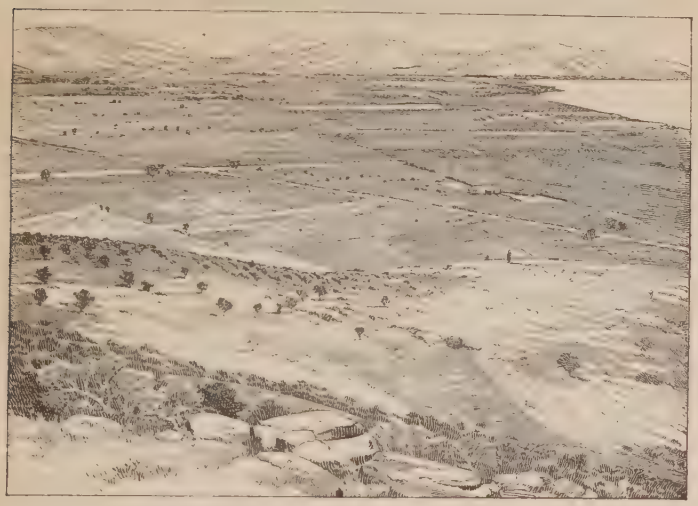


FIG. 83. THE PLAIN OF MARATHON

This view is taken from the hills at the south end of the plain, and we look northeastward across a corner of the Bay of Marathon to the mountains in the background, which are on the large island of Eubœa (see map, p. 146). The Persian camp was on the plain at the very shore line, where their ships were moored or drawn up. The Greeks held a position in the hills overlooking the plain (just out of range on the left) and commanding the road to Athens, which is twenty-five miles distant behind us. When the Persians began to move along the shore road toward the right, the Greeks crossed the plain and attacked. The memorial mound (Fig. 84) is too far away to be visible from this point

Consternation in Athens and Greece

All was excitement and confusion among the Greek states. The defeat of the revolting Ionian cities, and especially the Persian sack of Miletus, had made a deep impression throughout Greece. An Athenian dramatist had depicted in a play the plunder of the unhappy city and so incensed the Athenians that

they passed weeping from the theater to prosecute and fine the author. Now this Persian foe who had crushed the Ionian cities was camping behind the hills only a few miles northeast of Athens. After dispatching messengers in desperate haste to seek aid in Sparta, the Athenian citizens turned to contemplate the seemingly hopeless situation of their beloved city. Here was a tiny Greek state confronted by the army of the Lord of Asia, the Emperor of the world, who regarded the peoples of the West as insignificant communities which had been troubling the frontiers of his vast world empire.

The armies

Thinking to find the Athenians unprepared, Darius had not sent a large army. The Persian forces probably numbered no more than twenty thousand men, while at the utmost the Athenians could not put more than half this number into the field. Fortunately for them there was among their generals a skilled and experienced commander named Miltiades, a man of resolution and firmness, who, moreover, had lived on the Hellespont and was familiar with Persian methods of fighting. To his judgment the commander-in-chief, Callimachus, yielded at all points. As the citizen-soldiers of Attica flocked to the city at the call to arms, Miltiades was able to induce the leaders not to await the assault of the Persians at Athens, but to march across the peninsula (see map, p. 146) and block the Persian advance among the hills overlooking the eastern coast and commanding the road to the city. This bold and resolute move roused courage and enthusiasm in the downcast ranks of the Greeks.

Miltiades induces the Athenians to advance to Marathon

The Greek position

Nevertheless, when they issued between the hills and looked down upon the Persian host encamped upon the Plain of Marathon (Fig. 83), flanked by a fleet of hundreds of vessels, misgiving and despair chilled the hearts of the little Attic army. But Miltiades held the leaders firmly in hand, and the arrival of a thousand Greeks from Platæa revived the courage of the Athenians. The Greek position overlooked the main road to Athens, and the Persians could not advance without leaving their line of march exposed on one side to the Athenian attack.

Unable to lure the Greeks from their advantageous position after several days' waiting, the Persians at length attempted to march along the road to Athens, at the same time endeavoring to cover their exposed line of march with a sufficient force thrown out in battle array. Miltiades was familiar with the

The battle of Marathon (490 B.C.)

FIG. 84. MOUND RAISED AS A MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN GREEKS AT MARATHON

The mound is nearly fifty feet high. Excavations undertaken in 1890 disclosed beneath it the bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenian citizens who fell in the battle. Some of their weapons and the funeral vases buried with them were also recovered

Persian custom of massing troops in the center. He therefore massed his own troops on both wings, leaving his center weak. It was a battle between bow and spear. The Athenians undauntedly faced the storm of Persian arrows,[1] and then both wings pushed boldly forward to the line of shields behind which the Persian archers were kneeling. In the meantime the Persian center had forced back the Greeks, while the two Greek wings

[1] See page 96 and Fig. 51.

closed in on either side and thrust back the Persian wings in confusion. The Asiatic army crumbled into a broken multitude between the two advancing lines of Greeks. The Persian bow was useless, and the Greek spear everywhere spread death and terror. As the Persians fled to their ships they left over six thousand dead upon the field, while the Athenians lost less than two hundred men (Fig. 84).[1] When the Persian commander, unwilling to acknowledge defeat, sailed around the Attic peninsula and appeared with his fleet before the port of Athens, he found it unwise to attempt a landing, for the victorious Athenian army was already encamped beside the city.

Rise of Themistocles

Among the men who stood in the Athenian ranks at Marathon was Themistocles, the ablest statesman in Greece, a man who had already occupied the office of archon, the head of the Athenian state. As archon Themistocles had striven to convince the Athenians that the only way in which Athens could hope to meet the assault of Persia was by making herself undisputed mistress of the sea. He had failed in his effort. But now the Athenians had seen the Persians cross the Ægean with their fleet and land at Marathon. It was evident that a powerful Athenian navy might have stopped them. They began to listen to the counsels of Themistocles to make Athens the great sea power of the Mediterranean.

His plan for creation of a fleet

Persian preparations for a third invasion

Darius the Persian died without having avenged his defeat at Marathon, but his son and successor, Xerxes, took up the unfinished task. He was prevailed upon by his able general Mardonius to adopt the Hellespont route. When the Athenians saw that Xerxes' commanders were cutting a canal behind the promontory of Athos, to secure a short cut and thus to avoid all risk of such a wreck as had overtaken their former fleet in rounding this dangerous point, Themistocles was able to induce the Assembly to build a great fleet of probably a hundred and eighty triremes.

Themistocles creates a fleet

[1] The mound raised by the Athenians in honor of the fallen Greeks still marks the battlefield, a sacred memorial reverently visited by many travelers.

Third Persian invasion Themistocles' plan of campaign

Themistocles' masterly plan of campaign corresponded exactly to the plan of the Persian advance. The Asiatics were coming in combined land and sea array, with army and fleet moving together down the east coast of the Greek mainland. The design of

FIG. 85. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ

In the time of the Persian invasion the mountains to the left dropped steeply to the sea, with barely room between for a narrow road. Since then the rains of twenty-four hundred years have washed down the mountainside, and it is no longer as steep as formerly, while the neighboring river has filled in the shore and pushed back the sea several miles. Otherwise we would see it here on the right. The Persians, coming from beyond the mountains toward our point of view, could not spread out in battle array, being hemmed in by the sea on one side and the cliff on the other. It was only when a traitorous Greek led a Persian force by night over the mountain on the left, and they appeared behind the Greeks in the pass, that Leonidas and his Spartans were crushed by the simultaneous attack in front and rear (pp. 172–174)

Themistocles was to meet the Persian fleet first with full force and fight a decisive naval battle as soon as possible. If victorious, the Greek fleet commanding the Ægean would then be able to sail up the eastern coast of Greece and threaten the

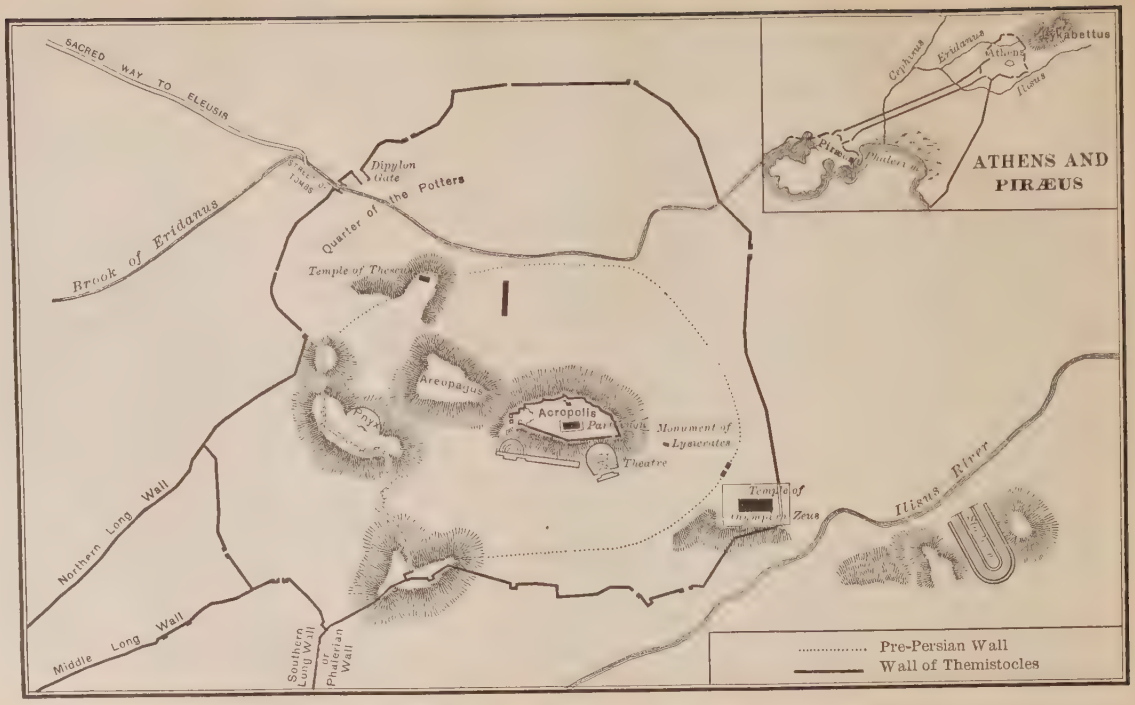
communications and supplies of the Persian army. There must be no attempt of the small Greek army to meet the vast land forces of the Persians, beyond delaying them as long as possible at the narrow northern passes, which could be defended with a few men. An attempt to unite all the Greek states against the Persian invasion was not successful, but Sparta and Athens united to meet the common danger. Themistocles was able to induce the Spartans to accept his plan only on condition that Sparta be given command of the allied Greek fleets.

Persians enter Greece

In the summer of 480 B.C. the Asiatic army was approaching the pass of Thermopylæ (Fig. 85), just opposite the westernmost point of the Island of Eubœa (see map, p. 146). Their fleet moved with them. The Asiatic host must have numbered over two hundred thousand men, with probably as many more camp followers, while the enormous fleet contained presumably about a thousand vessels, of which perhaps two thirds were warships. Of these they lost a hundred or two in a storm, leaving probably about five hundred warships available for action. The Spartan king Leonidas led some five thousand men to check the Persians at the pass of Thermopylæ, while the Greek fleet of less than three hundred triremes was endeavoring to hold together and strike the Persian navy at Artemisium, on the northern coast of Eubœa. Thus the land and sea forces of both contestants were face to face.

The battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium

After several days' delay the Persians advanced to attack on both land and sea. The Greek fleet made a skillful and creditable defense against superior numbers, and all day the dauntless Leonidas held the pass of Thermopylæ against the Persian host. Meantime the Persians were executing two flank movements by land and by sea — one over the mountains to strike Leonidas in the rear, and the other with two hundred ships around Eubœa to take the Greek fleet likewise from behind. A storm destroyed the flanking Persian ships, and a second combat between the two main fleets was indecisive, but the flanking of the pass was successful. Taken in front and rear,



PLAN OF ATHENS, WITH MAP OF ATHENS AND ITS HARBOR OF PIRÆUS

Locate on this map Figs. 86, 89, 90, 91, 94, 97, and Plates III and IV, pp. 180 and 188. Find all points discussed in section 30

Persian victory; death of Leonidas

the heroic Leonidas died fighting at the head of his small force, which the Persian host completely annihilated. The death of Leonidas stirred all Greece. With the defeat of the Greek land forces and the advance of the Persian army, the Greek fleet, seriously damaged, was obliged to withdraw to the south. It took up its position in the Bay of Salamis (see map, p. 146, and Fig. 86), while the main army of the Spartans and the allies was drawn up on the Isthmus of Corinth (Fig. 76), the only point at which the Greek land forces could hope to make another defensive stand.

Greek retreat

Persian advance into Attica and burning of Athens

As the Persian army moved southward from Thermopylæ, the indomitable Themistocles gathered together the Athenian population and carried them in transports to the little islands of Salamis and Ægina and to the shores of Argolis (see map, p. 146, and Plate II, p. 124). Meantime the Greek fleet had been repaired, and with reinforcements numbered over three hundred battleships. Nevertheless it shook the courage of many as they looked northward, where the far-stretching Persian host darkened the coast road, while in the south they could see the Asiatic fleet drawn up off the old port of Athens at Phalerum (see map, p. 173). High over the Attic hills the flames of the burning Acropolis showed red against the somber masses of smoke that obscured the eastern horizon and told them that the homes of the Athenians lay in ashes. With masterly skill Themistocles held together the irresolute Greek leaders, while he induced Xerxes to attack by the false message that the Greek fleet was about to slip out of the bay.

Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.)

On the heights overlooking the Bay of Salamis the Persian king, in the midst of his brilliant oriental court, took up his station to watch the battle. The Greek position between the jutting headlands of Salamis and the Attic mainland (see map, p. 146, and Fig. 86) was too cramped for the maneuvers of a large fleet. Crowded and hampered by the narrow sea-room, the huge Asiatic fleet soon fell into confusion before the Greek attack. There was no room for retreat. The combat lasted the entire

day, and when darkness settled on the Bay of Salamis the Persian fleet had been almost annihilated. The Athenians were masters of the sea, and it was impossible for the army of Xerxes to operate with the same freedom as before. By the

FIG. 86. PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS, AND THE STRAIT AND ISLAND OF SALAMIS

The view shows the very modern houses and buildings of this flourishing harbor town of Athens (see map, p. 173). The mountains in the background are the heights of the island of Salamis, which extends also far over to the right (north), opposite Eleusis (see map, p. 146), as we saw in Fig. 80. The four steamers at the right are lying at the place where the hottest fighting in the great naval battle here (p. 174) took place. The Persian fleet advanced from the left (south) and could not spread out in a long front to enfold the Greek fleet, because of the little island just beyond the four steamers, which was called Psyttaleia. The Greek fleet lying behind Psyttaleia and a long point of Salamis came into action from the right (north), around Psyttaleia. A body of Persian troops stationed by Xerxes on Psyttaleia were all slain by the Greeks

creation of its powerful fleet Athens had saved Greece, and Themistocles had shown himself the greatest of Greek statesmen.

Xerxes was now troubled lest he should be cut off from Asia by the victorious Greek fleet. Indeed, Themistocles made every

Retreat of Xerxes in the east; defeat of Carthage in the west

effort to induce Sparta to join with Athens in doing this very thing; but the cautious Spartans could not be prevailed upon to undertake what seemed to them so dangerous an enterprise. Had Themistocles' plan of sending the Greek fleet immediately to the Hellespont been carried out, Greece would have been saved another year of anxious campaigning against the Persian army. With many losses from disease and insufficient supplies, Xerxes retreated to the Hellespont and withdrew into Asia, leaving his able general Mardonius with an army of perhaps fifty thousand men to winter in Thessaly. Meantime the news reached Greece that an army of Carthaginians which had crossed from Africa to Sicily had been completely defeated by the Greeks under the leadership of Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Thus the assault of the Asiatics upon the Hellenic world was beaten back in both east and west in the same year (480 B.C.)[1]

Reaction against Themistocles

The brilliant statesmanship of Themistocles, so evident to us of to-day, was not so clear to the Athenians as the winter passed and they realized that the victory at Salamis had not relieved Greece of the presence of a Persian army, and that Mardonius would invade Attica with the coming of spring. Themistocles, whose proposed naval expedition to the Hellespont would have forced the Persian army out of Greece, was removed from command by the factions of his ungrateful city. Nevertheless the most tempting offers from Mardonius could not induce the Athenians to forsake the cause of Greek liberty and join hands with Persia.

Persians again in Attica

As Mardonius at the end of the winter rains led his army again into Attica, the unhappy Athenians were obliged to flee as before, this time chiefly to Salamis. Sparta, always reluctant

[1] It is evident that Xerxes by his control of the Phœnician cities had induced Phœnician Carthage to attack the Greeks in the west while he himself attacked them in the east. The Persian fleet defeated at Salamis was largely made up of Phœnician ships. The Phœnicians in east and west (Carthage) thus represent the two wings of the great Semitic line, in attack on the Indo-European line (Fig. 49) represented in east and west by the Greeks.

and slow when the crisis demanded quick and vigorous action, was finally induced to put her army into the field. When Mardonius in Attica saw the Spartan king Pausanias advancing through the Corinthian Isthmus and threatening his rear, he withdrew northward, having for the second time laid waste Attica far and wide. With the united armies of Sparta, Athens, and other allies behind him, Pausanias was able to lead some thirty thousand heavy-armed Greeks of the phalanx, as he followed Mardonius into Bœotia.

Spartan army at last advances

In several days of preliminary movements which brought the two armies into contact at Platæa, the clever Persian showed his superiority, out-maneuvering Pausanias and even gaining possession of the southern passes behind the Greeks and capturing a train of their supply wagons. But when Mardonius led his archers forward at double-quick, and the Persians kneeling behind their line of shields rained deadly volleys of arrows into the compact Greek lines, the Hellenes never flinched, although their comrades were falling on every hand. With the gaps closed up, the massive Greek phalanxes pushed through the line of Persian shields, and, as at Marathon, the spear proved invincible against the bow. In a heroic but hopeless effort to rally his broken lines, Mardonius himself fell. The Persian cavalry covered the rear of the flying Asiatic army and saved it from destruction.

Battle of Platæa; final defeat of Persia (479 B.C.)

Death of Mardonius

Not only European Greece, but Ionia too, was saved from Asiatic despotism; for the Greek triremes, having meantime crossed to the peninsula of Mycale on the north of Miletus, drove out or destroyed the remnants of the Persian fleet. The Athenians now also captured and occupied Sestus on the European side of the Hellespont and thus held the crossing from Asia into Europe closed against further Persian invasion. Thus the grandsons of the men who had seen Persia advance to the Ægean had blocked her further progress in the west and thrust her back from Europe. Indeed, no Persian army ever set foot in European Greece again.

Athenian fleet victorious in Ionia and the north

Section 29. The Rise of the Athenian Empire

Emancipated Greece

As the Athenians returned to look out over the ashes of what was once Athens, amid which rose the smoke-blackened heights of the naked Acropolis, they began to realize the greatness of their deliverance and the magnitude of their achievement. With the not too ready help of Sparta, they had met and crushed the ancient power of Asia. They felt themselves masters of the world. The past seemed narrow and limited. A new and greater Athens dawned upon their vision.

Progressive Athens

On the other hand, the stolid Spartans, wearing the fetters of a rigid military organization, gifted with no imagination, looked with misgivings upon the larger world which was opening to Greek life, and although they desired to lead Greece in military power, they shrank from assuming the responsibilities of expansion. They represented the past and the privileges of the few. Athens represented the future and the rights of the many. Thus Greece fell into two camps as it were: Sparta (Fig. 87), the bulwark of tradition and limited privileges; Athens (Plate III, p. 180), the champion of progress and the sovereign people. And thus the sentiment of union born in the common struggle for liberty, which might have united the Hellenes into one Greek nation, was followed by an unquenchable rivalry between the two leading states of Hellas, which finally cost the Greeks the supremacy of the ancient world.

Conservative Sparta

Rivalry of Athens and Sparta

Themistocles and the fortification of Athens

Themistocles was now the soul of Athens and her policy of progress and expansion. He determined that Athens should no longer follow Sparta. He cleverly hoodwinked the Spartans, and in spite of their objections completed the erection of strong walls around a new and larger Athens. At the same time he fortified the Piræus, the Athenian port (see map, p. 173, and Fig. 86). When the Spartans, after the repulse of Persia, relinquished the command of the combined Greek fleets, the powerful Athenian fleet, the creation of Themistocles, was master of the Ægean.

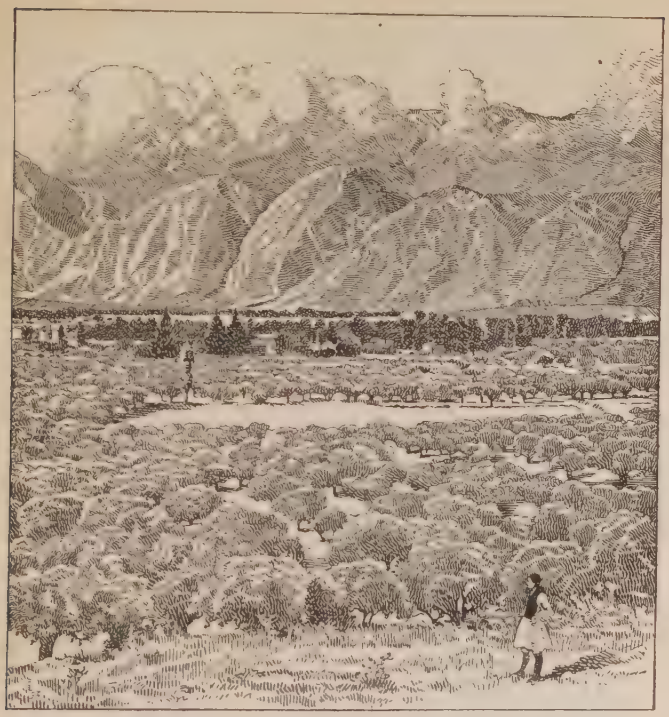


FIG. 87. THE PLAIN WHERE ONCE SPARTA STOOD

The olive groves now grow where the Spartans once had their houses. The town was not walled until long after the days of Spartan and Greek power were over. From the mountains (nearly eight thousand feet high) behind the plain the visitor can see northeastward far beyond Athens, almost to Eubœa; one hundred miles northward to the mountains on the north of the Corinthian Gulf (see map, p. 146); and one hundred and twenty-five miles southward to the Island of Crete. This view shows also how Greece is cut up by such mountains

Establishment of the Delian League (478–477 B.C.)

As the Greek cities of Asia still feared the vengeance of the Persian king, it was easy for the Athenians to form a permanent defensive league with the cities of their Greek kindred in Asia and the Ægean islands. The wealthier of these cities contributed ships, while others paid a sum of money each year into

the treasury of the League. Athens had command of the combined fleet and collected the money. This treasure was placed for protection in the temple of Apollo, on the little Island of Delos. Hence the federation was known as the Delian League. It was completed within three years after Salamis. The transformation of such a league into an empire, made up of states subject to Athens, could be foreseen as a very easy step. All this was therefore viewed with increasing jealousy and distrust by Sparta.

FIG. 88. POTSHERD BEARING THE NAME OF THEMISTOCLES AND HIS PLACE OF RESIDENCE

The name of Themistocles is scratched in the surface of this fragment of a pottery jar (*ostracon*, p. 158). It was written there by some citizen of the six thousand who desired and secured his ostracism in 472 B.C., or may have served a similar purpose in the earlier but unsuccessful attempt to ostracize him

Rise of Cimon

Under the leadership of Cimon, the son of Miltiades the hero of Marathon, the fleet of the League now drove the Persians out of the region of the Hellespont entirely. Cimon did not understand the importance of Athenian supremacy, but favored a policy of friendship and alliance with Sparta. Hence political conflict arose at Athens over this question. Noble and wealthy and old-fashioned folk favored Cimon and friendship with Sparta, but progressive and modern Athenians followed Themistocles and his anti-Spartan plans.

Themistocles was unable to carry the Assembly; he was

PLATE III. THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS FROM THE WEST

The modern city lies in the hollow on the left (north), behind which rises Mount Lycabettus. Of the buildings on the Acropolis we can see the Parthenon at the right, and at the left the colonnaded approach (propylæa), to which stairways lead up (p. 188). The Pnyx (Fig. 89) lies behind the trees in the foreground, exactly in a line with the stairways. The Areopagus (Fig. 91) is nearer to the Acropolis but at the left, behind the tall poplar; still further to the left is the temple of Theseus (Fig. 91). Compare plan, p. 173. (From painting by Bethe-Löwe, Rhine Prints, by B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. The Prang Company, New York)

ostracized (Fig. 88), and at length, on false charges of treason, he was condemned and obliged to flee for his life. The greatest statesman in Athenian history spent the rest of his life in the service of the Persian king, and he never again saw the city he had saved from the Persians and made mistress of an empire.

Fall of Themistocles (472–471 B.C.)

When a Persian fleet of some two hundred ships now came creeping westward along the southern coast of Asia Minor, Cimon not only destroyed the entire hostile fleet, but he also landed and crushed the Persian land force which had fortified itself at this point (468 B.C.).

Cimon destroys a final Persian fleet in the Eurymedon River

Covered with glory, Cimon returned to Athens and urged the dispatch of troops to Sparta in response to a request from the Spartans for help in quelling a revolt among their own subjects. Herein Cimon overestimated the good feeling of the Spartans toward Athens; for, in spite of the continuance of the revolt, the Spartans after a time curtly demanded the withdrawal of the very Athenian troops they had asked for. Stung by this rebuff, to which Cimon's friendly policy toward Sparta had exposed them, the Athenians voted to ostracize Cimon (461 B.C.).

Fall of Cimon

The name of Pericles, the statesman who succeeded Cimon as the leader of Athens, is the most illustrious in her history. He was a handsome and brilliant young Athenian, descended from one of the old noble families, of the line of Clisthenes, who two generations before had done so much for Athenian democracy (see p. 157). Like his great ancestor, he fearlessly championed the cause of the people, and he also accepted the "imperialistic program" of Athenian supremacy over the other Greek states. He desired to rear the splendid Athenian empire of which Themistocles had dreamed. He put himself at the head of the party of progress and of increased power of the people. Increasing prosperity had been creating an ever-growing body of wealthy men who rose from the lower classes. They hoped for wide expansion of Athenian power, for they felt the competition of the merchants of Ægina and of Corinth, the powerful commercial ally of Sparta.

Pericles and the imperialistic party at Athens

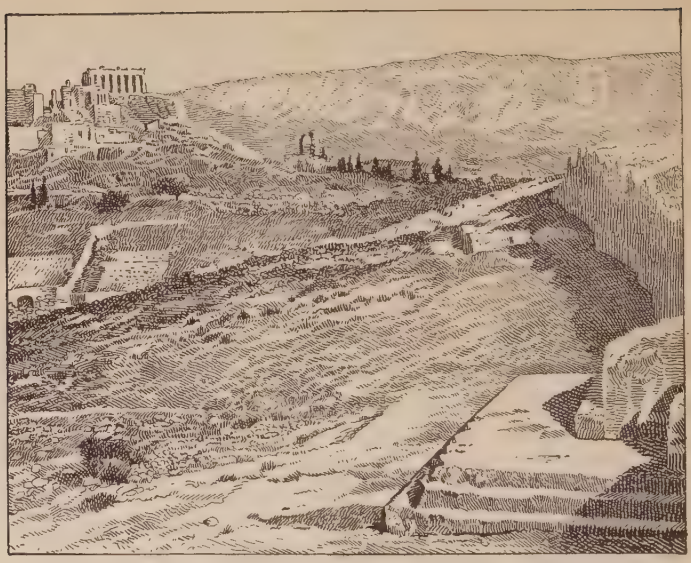


FIG. 89. THE PNYX, THE ATHENIAN PLACE OF ASSEMBLY

The speakers' platform with its three steps is immediately in the foreground. The listening Athenian citizens of the Assembly sat on the ground now sloping away to the left, but at that time probably level. The ground they occupied was inclosed by a semicircular wall, beginning at the further end of the straight wall seen here on the right, extending then to the left, and returning to the straight wall again behind our present point of view (see semicircle on plan, p. 173). This was an open-air House of Commons, where, however, the citizen did not send a representative but came and voted himself as he was influenced from this platform by great Athenian leaders, like Themistocles, Pericles, or Demosthenes (p. 216). Note the Acropolis and the Parthenon, to which we look eastward from the Pnyx (see plan, p. 173). The Areopagus is just out of range on the left (see Fig. 91)

Salaries for state offices introduced

A long struggle of the people for power had brought about changes in the constitution providing that all citizens holding state office should receive pay for such service. The people were in the saddle (Fig. 89). It was now possible even for men of very limited means to hold office, and all were permitted to

do so except members of the laboring class entirely without property. With one exception there was no longer any *election* of the higher officers, but they were now all *chosen by lot* from the whole body of eligible citizens. The result was that the men holding the once influential positions in the State were now mere chance "nobodies" and hence completely without influence.

Complete triumph of democracy

It was, however, impossible to choose a military commander (*strategus*) by lot. These important offices remained elective and thus open to men of ability and influence, into whose hands the direction of affairs naturally fell. It thus became more and more possible for a strong and influential leader, a man of persuasive eloquence like Pericles, to lay out a definite series of plans for the nation and by his oratory to induce the Assembly of the Athenian citizens on the Pnyx (Fig. 89) to accept them. Year after year Pericles was thus able to retain the confidence of the people. He became the actual head of the State in power, or, as we should say, the undisputed political "boss" of Athens from about 460 B.C. until his untimely death over thirty years later.

The leadership of Pericles

Pericles had won favor with the people by favoring a policy of hostility to Sparta, a policy opposed to Cimon's attitude of friendship toward the only dangerous rival of Athens in the struggle for the leadership of Hellas. Pericles greatly strengthened the defenses of Athens by inducing the people to connect the fortifications of the city with those of the Piræus harbor by two "Long Walls," thus forming a road completely walled in, connecting Athens and her harbor (Fig. 86 and plan, p. 173).

New defenses of Athens; "Long Walls"

The inevitable war with Sparta lasted nearly fifteen years, with varying fortunes on both sides. The Athenian merchants resented the keen commercial rivalry of Ægina, planted as the flourishing island was at the very front door of Attica (see map, p. 146). They finally captured the island after a long siege. Pericles likewise employed the Athenian navy in blockading for years the merchant fleets of the other great rival of Athens and friend of Sparta, Corinth (Fig. 76), and thus brought financial ruin on its merchants.

First war between Athens and Sparta (459-446 B.C.)

Athenians capture Ægina

Pericles shifted the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens, an act which made the city more than ever the capital of an Athenian Empire. The assassination of Xerxes and a consequent revolt against the Persians in Egypt had induced the Athenians to resume the conflict with Persia (459 B.C.). They therefore dispatched a fleet of two hundred ships against the Persians in Egypt and had thus been fighting both Sparta and Persia for years. The entire Athenian fleet in Egypt was lost. Some Attic successes in Bœotia were followed by defeats in which the Athenians lost all that they had gained in the north.

Peace with Sparta and Persia

When peace was concluded (446 B.C.) all that Athens was able to retain was the Island of Ægina. It was agreed that the peace should continue for thirty years. Thus ended what is often called the First Peloponnesian War with the complete exhaustion of Athens as well as her enemies in the Peloponnesus. The Athenians then arranged a peace with Persia also, over forty years after Marathon. But the rivalry between Athens and Sparta for the leadership of the Greeks was still unsettled. The struggle was to be continued in another long and weary "Peloponnesian War." Before we proceed with the story of this fatal struggle we must glance briefly at the new and glorious Athens now growing up under the hand of Pericles.

Section 30. Civilization of Imperial Athens in the Age of Pericles

The higher life of imperial Athens; the glorified State

Although the first fifteen years of the leadership of Pericles were encumbered with the Spartan and Persian wars, the higher life of Athens continued to unfold, and the next fifteen years brought to fruitage the tremendous and revolutionary experiences through which Greece and especially Athens had been passing for half a century. The new vision of the glory of the State, discerned nowhere in the world before this age, caught the imagination of poet and painter, of sculptor and architect,

and not of these alone but of the humblest artizan and tradesman. All classes alike participated in the public festivals which were conducted by the State every six or seven days. The great Pan-Athenaic festival, which occurred every four years, gathered all the people in stately processions and splendid games, bringing into their lives the memories of a heroic past and the imposing honors paid to the great gods who sheltered and protected the Athenian State. The wealthy citizens themselves paid the expenses of competing choruses, and each successful competitor proudly erected a graceful monument of victory (Fig. 90) in a street especially reserved for such memorials. These choruses were made up of the men and boys of Athens. The citizen thus found music, the drama, art and architecture,

FIG. 90. MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE TRIUMPH OF AN ATHENIAN CITIZEN IN MUSIC

An entire street of Athens was filled with such monuments (p. 185). We learn the name of the citizen, Lysicrates, who erected this beautiful monument, from the inscription it still bears, which reads: "Lysicrates . . . was choragus [leader of the chorus] when the boy-chorus of the tribe of Akamantis won the prize; Theon was flute-player, Lysiades of Athens trained the choir. Euaenetus was archon." The archon's name dates the erection of the monument for us in 335 to 334 B.C. Beyond the monument we look westward to the back of the Acropolis (see plan, p. 173)

profoundly touched by the new and exalted vision of the State, thrust into the foreground of his life.

Painting

We can still follow the citizen and note a few of the inspiring monuments that met his eye as he went about the new Athens which Pericles was creating. Wandering into the market place (see plan, p. 173, and Fig. 91), the citizen found an imposing colonnaded porch along one side, presented to the city by a wealthy noble: the wall behind the columns bore a long series of paintings by an artist from one of the island possessions of Athens, a gift of the painter to the Athenians, depicting their glorious victory at Marathon. Here in splendid panorama was a vision of the heroic devotion of the fathers. In the thick of the fray the citizen might pick out the figure of Themistocles, of Miltiades, of Callimachus who fell in the battle, of Æschylus the great tragic poet. He could see the host of the fleeing Persians and perhaps hear some old man tell how the brother of Æschylus seized and tried to stop one of the Persian boats drawn up on

* In this view we stand inside the wall of Themistocles, near the Dipylon Gate in the Potters' Quarter (see plan, p. 173). In the foreground is the temple of Theseus, the legendary unifier of Attica, whom all Athenians honored as a god, and to whom this temple has long been supposed to have been erected. It is built of Pentelic marble and was finished a few years after the death of Pericles; but now, after twenty-three hundred years or more, it is still the best preserved of all ancient Greek buildings. Above the houses, at the extreme right, may be seen one corner of the hill called the Areopagus (see plan, p. 173), often called Mars' Hill, where sat the ancient criminal court of Athens — a court made up of the most influential and respected old citizens. It was probably here that the apostle Paul (p. 300) preached in Athens (see Acts xvii). The great hill of the Acropolis was once crowned by the dwellings of the prehistoric kings of Athens (p. 136). The buildings we now see there are all ruins of the structures erected after the place had been laid waste by the Persians (p. 174). At the right (west) are the approaches built by the architect Mnesicles under Pericles (p. 188). The Parthenon (p. 188), in the middle of the hill (see plan, p. 173), shows the gaping hole caused by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine ignited by a Venetian shell in 1687, when the entire central portion of the building was blown out. The space between the temple of Theseus, the Areopagus, and the Acropolis was largely occupied by the market place of Athens (p. 186 and plan, p. 173).

FIG. 91. THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS, THE AREOPAGUS, AND THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS *

the beach, and how a desperate Persian raised his ax and slashed off the hand of the brave Greek. Perhaps among the group of eager listeners he might notice one questioning the veteran carefully and making full notes of all that he can learn from the graybeard. The questioner is Herodotus, the "father of history," the first great prose writer to devote himself to the story of the past. He is collecting from survivors the tale of the Persian wars for a history which he is writing (p. 203).

Architecture

The citizen wanders on toward the theater. Above him towers the height of the Acropolis crowned with the Parthenon (Plate IV, p. 192, and Fig. 91), a noble temple to Athena, whose protecting arm is always stretched out over her beloved Athens. There on the Pnyx (Fig. 89) Pericles made the splendid speech in which he laid before the Assembly of the people his plans for the beautification of the Acropolis and the restoration of the temples which the Persians had burned. As he passes the Hill of the Areopagus the citizen remembers the discontented mutterings of the old men in the ancient council which convenes on its summit (Fig. 91), when they heard the vast expenses required for Pericles' building plans, and he smiles in satisfaction as he reflects that this unprogressive old body, once so influential in Athens, has been deprived of its powers to obstruct the will of the people in anything they wish to do. Here before him rise the imposing marble colonnades of the magnificent monumental approach to the Acropolis (Fig. 91). It is still unfinished, and the architect Mnesicles, with a roll of plans under his arm, is perhaps at the moment directing a group of workmen to their task. The tinkle of many distant hammers from the height above tells where the stone cutters are shaping the marble blocks for the still unfinished Parthenon (Fig. 91 and Plate III, p. 180); and there, too, the people often see Pericles intently inspecting the work, as Phidias the sculptor and Ictinus the architect of the building pace up and down the inclosure, explaining to him the progress of the work. In these wondrous Greek buildings architect and sculptor work hand in hand.

FIG. 92. PART OF THE FRIEZE OF PHIDIAS, SHOWING ATHENIAN YOUTHS RIDING IN THE PAN-ATHENAIC FESTIVAL

Notice the marvelous dash and vigor of the horses; also the strength of the last youth, as he reins in his steed till the animal's jaw is drawn back to its neck. The reins and trappings were of metal, and have disappeared

FIG. 93. HERMES PLAYING WITH THE CHILD DIONYSUS

The uplifted right hand (now broken off) of the god probably held a bunch of grapes, with which he was amusing the child. This wonderful work was wrought by the sculptor Praxiteles and illustrates the culmination of Athenian art in the fourth century B.C., in the days of the political weakness of Athens, when Thebes was overthrowing Sparta (p. 212), and Macedonia was gaining the leadership of the Greeks (p. 216)

Sculpture — Phidias

Phidias is the greatest of the sculptors at Athens. In a long band of carved marble extending entirely around the four sides of the Parthenon, at the top inside the colonnades (Plate IV, p. 192), Phidias and his pupils have portrayed, as in a glorified vision, the sovereign people of Athens moving in the stately procession of the Pan-Athenaic festival (Fig. 92). To be sure, these are not individual portraits of Athenian folk, but only types which lived in the exalted vision of the sculptor, and not on the streets of Athens. But such sculpture had never been seen before. How different is the supreme beauty of these perfect human forms from the cruder figures which adorned the temple burned by the Persians. The citizen has seen the shattered fragments of these older works cleared away and covered with rubbish when the architects leveled off the summit of the Acropolis.[1] Inside the new temple gleams the colossal figure of Athena, wrought by the cunning hand of Phidias in gold and ivory — his masterpiece. Even from the city below the citizen can discern, touched with bright colors, the heroic figures of the gods with which Phidias has filled the triangular gable ends of the building.[2]

The drama

These are the gods to whom the faith of the Athenian people still reverently looks up. Have not Athena and these gods raised the power of Athens to the imperial position which she now occupies? Do not all the citizens recall Æschylus' drama "The Persians," in which the memories of the great deliverance from Persian conquest are enshrined? How that tremendous day of Salamis was made to live again in the imposing picture which the poet's genius brought before them, disclosing the mighty purpose of the gods to save Hellas! As he skirts the sheer precipice of the Acropolis the citizen reaches the theater

Æschylus

[1] Till recently they lay buried under the rubbish on the slope (Fig. 91). The excavations of the Greek government have recovered them, and they are now in the Acropolis Museum at Athens.

[2] These figures will be found at the end of Chapter VII (p. 195). They represent the battle between Athena and Poseidon, god of the sea, for possession of Attica.

(see plan, p. 173, and Fig. 94), where he finds the people are already entering. Only yesterday he and his neighbors received from the state treasury the money for their admission. It is natural that they should feel that the theater and all that is done there belong to the people, and not the less as the citizen looks down upon the stage and recognizes many of his friends and neighbors and their sons in the chorus for that day's performance.

Sophocles

A play of Sophocles is on, and his neighbor in the next seat leans over to tell the citizen how as a lad many years ago he stood on the shore of Salamis, whither his family had fled (p. 174), and as they looked down upon the destruction of the Persian fleet, this same Sophocles, a boy of sixteen, was in the crowd looking on with the rest. How deeply must the events of that tragic day have sunk into the poet's soul! For does he not see the will of the gods in all that happens to men? Does he not celebrate the stern decree of Zeus everywhere hanging over human life, at the same time that he uplifts his audience to adore the splendor of Zeus, however dark the destiny he lays upon men? This is the only attitude which can bring consolation in the tragedy of life, and the citizen feels that Sophocles is the real voice of the people, exalting the old gods in the new time. Moreover, in place of the former *two*, Sophocles has *three* actors in his plays, a change which makes them more interesting and full of action.[1] Even old Æschylus yielded to this innovation once before he died. Yet too much innovation is also unwelcome to the citizen.

Euripides

The citizen feels this especially if it is one of the new sensational plays of Euripides which is presented. Euripides (Fig. 95), a younger poet, the son of a farmer who lives over on the Island of Salamis (Fig. 86), deals with new questions; he has for some time been presenting plays at the spring competition. His new plays are all troubled with problems and mental struggle regarding the gods, and they have raised a great many questions

[1] These actors were once only the leaders of the choruses at the spring feast (see p. 161).

FIG. 94. THE THEATER OF ATHENS

This theater was the center of the growth and development of Greek drama, which began as a part of the celebration of the spring feast of Dionysus, god of the vine and the fruitfulness of the earth (p. 161). The temple of the god stood here, just at the left. Long before any one knew of such a thing as a theater, the people gathered at this place to watch the celebration of the god's spring feast, where they formed a circle about the chorus, which narrated in song the stories of the gods (p. 161). This circle (called the orchestra) was finally marked out permanently, seats of wood for the spectators were erected in a semicircle on one side, but the singing and action all took place in the circle on the level of the ground. On the side opposite the public was a booth, or tent (Greek *skēnē*, "scene"), for the actors, and out of this finally developed the stage. Here we see the circle, or orchestra, with the stage cutting off the back part of the circle. The seats are of stone and accommodated possibly seventeen thousand people. The fine marble seats in the front row were reserved for the leading men of Athens. The old wooden seats were still in use in the days when Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides presented their dramas here, in competition for prizes awarded to the finest plays (pp. 190–192). From the seats the citizens had a grand view of the sea, with the Island of Ægina, their old-time rival (p. 155); and even the heights of Argolis, forty miles away, were visible; for orchestra and seats continued roofless, and a Greek theater was always open to the sky. In Roman times a colonnaded porch across the back of the stage was introduced, and such columns of Roman date may be seen in Fig. 74

and doubts which the citizen has never been able to banish from his mind since he heard them. In their pictures of men, too, they are nearly always very dark and gloomy and discouraging. The citizen determines that he will use all the influence he has to prevent the plays of Euripides from winning the prize, which the State grants to the most successful among the competing play writers each spring.

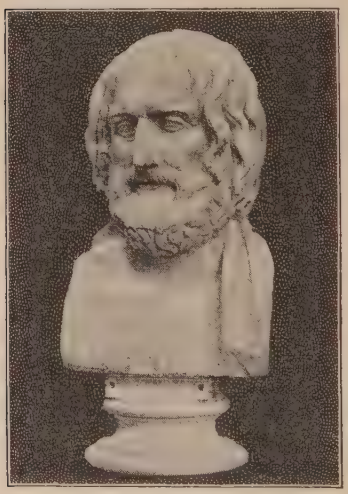


FIG. 95. PORTRAIT OF EURIPIDES

The name of the poet (p. 191) is engraved in Greek letters along the lower edge of the bust

When the Athenian citizen turns homeward from the theater, he and his neighbor perhaps discuss, as they walk, how they shall educate their sons. There are the old subjects which have always been taught: reading and writing, the study of the old poets, music and dancing, and the athletic exercises at the gymnasium. But their sons are not satisfied with these; they want tuition money to hear the lectures and the instruction of private teachers, a class of new and clever-witted lecturers, who wander from city to city, and whom the people call "Sophists." The Sophists are far worse than Euripides; they doubt everything, and make all conclusions impossible. Yes, to be sure, but they are wonderful speakers, much better than Herodotus when he recites his historical tales in the market place. And they teach a young man such readiness in speech that he can carry the people with him in the Assembly. They have indeed created a new art, the art of oratory and of writing prose, and no young man can do without it.

Education and thought; the Sophists

Oratory and prose

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PLATE IV. A CORNER OF THE PARTHENON

Looking through the colonnades (p. 189) at the southeast corner of the building to the distant hills of Hymettus. On the left is the base of the wall of the interior, blown out by the explosion of the Turkish powder magazine (Fig. 91). At the top of this wall was the frieze of Phidias, extending around the inner part of the building (p. 189 and Fig. 92). (From painting by Bethe-Löwe, Rhine Prints, by B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. The Prang Company, New York)

Skepticism

They are such useful teachers, it is a pity they are such an irreverent crew, these Sophists: but when one of them actually writes a book which begins with a statement doubting the existence of the gods, what is a citizen to do but vote that the book be burned? And the worst of it is that there are several bookshops in the city and people read such books. Why, even the sausage-peddler who delivers meat at the citizen's door can read! And the book was read aloud in the house of Euripides too! There should be no hesitation in condemning and banishing such infidels, even if they are friends of Pericles, and he steps in to help them. But the citizen and his friend chuckle as they recall how Pericles was well roasted for it in the last comic play (comedy) they went to see.

Science

In spite of the fact that the Sophists teach a little arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, natural science is a line of progress of which the Athenian citizen has not the slightest notion. To be sure, he has seen on the Pnyx (Fig. 89) a strange-looking tablet set up by Meton, the builder and engineer; it is said to be a calendar which will bring the short moon-month year (p. 62) and the long solar year together every nineteen years. But this is all quite beyond the citizen's puzzled mind. Moreover, the archons have all shaken their heads at it and will have nothing to do with it. The old moon months are good enough for them. But practical men like Meton, whose callings in life carry them into such investigations, are making much progress in science.

Meton's calendar

Medicine

The physician especially has largely outgrown the old Egyptian medical roll (p. 44) which his fathers found very useful; he has made many important and new observations of his own, and there is even a Greek physician in Persia at the court of the Great King.

Geometry

Interesting progress is being made in mathematics also by the surveyor, and a new science known as "land-measuring," geometry, is taking form.

Athens the teacher of the world

The reader will readily perceive how different from the Athens of the old days before the Persian wars was this imperial Athens! — throbbing with new life, astir with a thousand

questions eagerly discussed at every corner, keenly awake to the demand of the greater State and the governing people, deeply studying the duties and privileges of the individual who felt new and larger visions of himself conflicting with the exactions of the State and the old faith, already troubled by serious doubts, but clinging to the old gods and the old truths with wistful fear of losing them. Under Pericles Athens had become, as he desired it should, the teacher of the Greek world. It now remained to be seen whether the *people*, in sovereign control of the State, could guide her wisely and maintain her new power.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 28. What was the chief provocation of the war with Persia? By what route did Darius first attempt the invasion of Greece? What route was next adopted? Where did the Persians land? Why did not the battle take place at Athens? Describe the device of Miltiades. What was the outcome? What was the policy of Themistocles? What led the Athenians to vote the building of a fleet?

What route did Xerxes select for the next (third) Persian invasion? Outline Themistocles' plan of campaign. Describe the battle of Thermopylæ and Artemisium. What was the next move of the Persians? Describe the battle of Salamis. Outline the remaining course of the campaign under Mardonius, and the battle of Platæa. What was the final result of the Asiatic invasion of Greece and Sicily? What were the racial lines of the struggle?

SECTION 29. What rivalry dominated the Greek situation after the repulse of Persia? What did Themistocles accomplish? Describe the Delian League. Contrast the policies of Cimon and Themistocles. What was the fate of Themistocles?

What victory did Cimon win? Describe the Imperial Party at Athens. Who was its ablest young leader? What happened to Cimon? How did democracy now gain complete leadership at Athens? Who became the leader of the democracy? Outline the first war with Sparta (First Peloponnesian War).

SECTION 30. Describe the awakening in Greece and especially Athens after the repulse of Persia and in the Age of Pericles. Describe a great painting of the time. What buildings were being

erected at Athens? What great sculptor was at work, and what are some of his works? Who were the great dramatists? What was the position of Aeschylus toward the gods?

What attitude toward the gods did Sophocles teach? What feeling did Euripides show toward them? How did these things affect the life of Athens? its education? Who were the Sophists? What did they teach? How did the people feel toward them? Did the people know any science? What sciences were now making progress?

CHAPTER VIII

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE AND THE END OF GREEK POWER

Section 31. The Second Peloponnesian War and the Fall of Athens

Jealousy of the rivals of Athens

The outward splendor of Athens, her commercial prosperity, her not very conciliatory attitude toward her rivals, the visible growth of her power, and the example she offered of the seeming success of triumphant democracy — all these things were causes of jealousy to a backward and conservative military State like Sparta (Fig. 87). This feeling of unfriendliness toward Athens was not confined to Sparta but was quite general throughout Greece. The merchants of Corinth (Fig. 76) found Athenian competition a continuous vexation, and Corinth did all in her power to aggravate the situation by stirring up the sluggish Spartans to action. When Athenian possessions in the north Ægean revolted and received support from Corinth and Sparta, the fact that hardly half of the thirty years' term of peace (p. 184) had expired did not prevent the outbreak of war.

Opening of Second Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.)

It seemed as if all European Greece not included in the Athenian Empire had united against Athens, for Sparta controlled the entire Peloponnesus except Argos, and north of Attica Bœotia led by Thebes, as well as its neighbors on the west, were hostile to Athens. The support of Athens consisted of the Ægean cities which made up her empire and a few outlying allies of little power. She began the war with a large war treasury and a fleet of warships which made her undisputed mistress of the sea. But she could not hope to cope with the land forces of the enemy, which, some thirty thousand strong,

had planned to meet in the Isthmus in the spring of 431 B.C. When this army entered Attica the outlying communities were at once obliged to leave their homes and take refuge in the open markets and squares of Athens, the sanctuaries, and especially between the Long Walls leading to the Piræus. To offset the devastation of Attica by the Spartan army, all that Athens could do was to organize destructive sea raids and inflict as much damage as possible along the coasts of the Peloponnesus or destroy Corinthian commerce as of old.

Plague in Athens

The masses of people crowded within the walls of Athens under unsanitary conditions exposed the city to disease; a plague, probably brought in from the Orient, broke out in the port, spread to the city, and raged with intermissions for several seasons. It carried off probably a third of the population, and from this unforeseen disaster Athens never recovered. With such a visitation Pericles had of course been unable to reckon. Constantly under arms for the defense of the walls, deprived of any opportunity to strike the enemy, forced to sit still and see their land ravaged, the citizens at last broke out in discontent.

Fall and death of Pericles

In spite of his undaunted spirit Pericles was unable to hold the confidence of a majority. He lost control, was tried for misappropriation of funds, and fined. The absence of his steadying hand and powerful leadership was at once felt by the people, for there was no one to take his place, although a swarm of small politicians were contending for control of the Assembly. Realizing their helplessness the people soon turned to Pericles again and elected him strategus, but he was stricken with the plague and died soon after his return to power. Great statesman as he was, he had left Athens with a system of government which did not provide for the continuation of such leadership as he had furnished, and without such leadership the Athenian Empire was doomed. This was the great mistake in the statesmanship of Pericles.

Men of the prosperous manufacturing class now came to the fore. They possessed neither the high station in life, the ability

Second Peloponnesian War after the death of Pericles

as statesmen, nor the qualities of leadership to win the confidence and respect of the people. Moreover these new leaders were not soldiers, and could not command the fleet or the army as Pericles had done. The only notable exception was Alcibiades,

Alcibiades

a brilliant young man, a relative of Pericles and brought up in his house. The two sons of Pericles had died of the plague, and Alcibiades, if he had enjoyed the guidance of his foster father a few years longer, might have become the savior of Athens and of Greece. As it happened, however, this young leader was more largely responsible than any one else for the destruction of the Athenian Empire and the downfall of Greece.

Unstable leadership of the Assembly

Unsteadied by a statesman whose continuous policy formed a firm and guiding influence, the management of Athenian affairs fell into confusion, rarely interrupted by any display of firmness and wisdom; the leaders drifted from one policy to another, and usually from bad to worse. It seemed impossible to regain stable leadership. The youthful Aristophanes depicted the rudderless condition of the ship of State in one clever comedy after another, in which he ridiculed in irresistible satire the pretense to statesmanship of such "men of the people" as Cleon the tanner. A

Incident of Mitylene

typical example of the ill-considered actions of the Assembly was their treatment of the revolting citizens of Mitylene. When the men of Mitylene were finally subdued, the Assembly on the Pnyx (Fig. 89) voted that they should all be put to death, and a ship departed with these orders. It was with great difficulty that a more moderate group in the Assembly secured a rehearing of the question and succeeded in inducing the people to modify their barbarous action to the condemnation and execution of the ringleaders only. A second ship then overtook the first barely in time to save from death the entire body of the revolting citizens of Mitylene.

Cleon the tanner

In spite of such revolts Athenian naval supremacy continued; but as the war dragged on, the payment of army and fleet reduced Athenian funds to a very low state. Cleon the tanner

succeeded in having an income tax introduced, and later on the tribute of the Ægean cities was raised. The only great battle during the first decade of the war was fought at Delium in the north, and this the Athenians lost; but there was really no military disaster of sufficient importance to cripple seriously either Sparta or Athens. It was the devastation wrought by the plague which had seriously affected Athens. When after ten years of warfare peace was arranged for fifty years, each contestant agreed to give up all new conquests and to retain only old possessions or subject cities.

Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.)

The attack of the allies on Athens had not realized their hope of breaking up her empire and overthrowing her leadership of the Ægean cities. Nevertheless Athens and the whole Greek world had been demoralized and weakened. The contest had in it no longer the inspiration of a noble struggle such as the Greeks had maintained against Persia. Unprecedented brutality, like that at first adopted toward Mitylene, had given the struggle a savagery and a lack of respect for the enemy which completely obscured all finer issues, if there were any such involved in the war. Meantime serious difficulties arose in carrying out the conditions of the peace. One of the northern subject cities of Athens which had gone over to Sparta refused to return to Athenian allegiance. Athens took the unreasonable ground that Sparta should force the recalcitrant city to obey the terms of peace. It was at this juncture that Athens especially needed such guidance as a statesman like Pericles could have furnished. She was obliged to depend for leadership upon Nicias, one of her old commanders, and the unprincipled Alcibiades.

Failure of the Peace of Nicias

Nicias had adjusted the peace compact and he continued to urge a conciliatory attitude toward Sparta; but the gifted and reckless Alcibiades, seeing a great opportunity for a brilliant career, did all that he could to excite the war party in Athens. In spite of the fact that troubles at home had forced Sparta into a treaty of alliance with Athens, Alcibiades was able to carry the Assembly with him. After complicated negotiations

Alcibiades brings on war again

he involved Athens in an alliance with Argos against Sparta, and thus Attica, exhausted with plague and ten years of warfare, was enticed into a life-and-death struggle which was to prove final.

Sicilian expedition

Several years of ill-planned military and naval operations followed the fruitless peace of Nicias. Under the spur of Alcibiades' persuasion the Athenians at length planned a great joint expedition of army and navy against Sicily, where the mighty Corinthian city of Syracuse was leading in the oppression of certain cities in alliance with Athens. The Athenians placed Alcibiades and Nicias in command of the expedition. Just as the fleet was about to sail, certain sacred images about the city were impiously mutilated, and the deed was attributed to Alcibiades. In spite of his demand for an immediate trial, the Athenians postponed the case until his return from Sicily. When the fleet reached Italy, however, the Athenian people, with their usual inability to follow any consistent plan and also desiring to take Alcibiades at a great disadvantage, suddenly recalled him for trial. This method of procedure not only deprived the expedition of its only able leader but also gave Alcibiades an opportunity to desert to the Spartans, which he promptly did. His advice to the Spartans now proved fatal to the Athenians.

Nicias and Alcibiades in command

Flight of Alcibiades to Sparta

Incompetence of Nicias

Nicias, though a brave man, was totally lacking in initiative and boldness, such as a Themistocles or a Miltiades would have shown under the same circumstances. The appearance of the huge Athenian fleet off their coast struck dismay into the hearts of the Syracusans, but Nicias entirely failed to see the importance of immediate attack before the Syracusans could recover and make preparations for the defense of their city. He wasted the early days of the campaign in ill-planned maneuvers, only winning a barren victory over the Syracusan land forces. When Nicias was finally induced by the second general in command to begin the siege of the city, courage had returned to the Syracusans and their defense was well organized.

A Spartan commander in Syracuse

On the advice of Alcibiades the Spartans had sent an able commander with a small force to support Syracuse, and the city was confident in its new ally. When Nicias made no progress in the siege, Athens responded to his call for help with a second fleet and more land forces. No Greek state had ever mustered such power and sent it far across the waters. All Greece watched the spectacle with amazement. Meantime the Syracusans too had organized a fleet. The Athenians were obliged to give battle in the narrow harbor, where there was no room for maneuvers or for any display of their superior seamanship, and the fleet of Syracuse was victorious in several actions. The Athenians were caught as they themselves had caught the Persians at Salamis two generations before.

Athenian reenforcements

Capture of Athenian fleet and army

With disaster staring him in the face, the superstitious Nicias refused to withdraw in time because of an eclipse of the moon, and insisted on waiting another month. The Syracusans then blockaded the channel to the sea and completely shut up the Athenian fleet within the harbor, so that an attempt to break through and escape disastrously failed. The desperate Athenian army, abandoning sick and wounded too late, endeavored to escape into the interior, but was overtaken and forced to surrender. After executing the commanding generals, the Syracusans took the prisoners, seven thousand in number, and sold them into slavery or threw them into the stone quarries of the city, where most of them miserably perished. Thus the Athenian expedition was not only defeated, but captured and completely destroyed (413 B.C.). This disaster, together with the earlier ravages of the plague, brought Athens near the end of her resources.

Decelean war — Sparta begins hostilities

Sparta, seeing the unprotected condition of Athens, now no longer hesitated to undertake a campaign into Attica. On the advice of Alcibiades again, the Spartans occupied the town of Decelea, almost within sight of Athens. Here they established a permanent fort held by a strong garrison, and thus placed Athens in a state of perpetual siege. All agriculture ceased and

Athenian distress

the Athenians lived on imported grain. The people now understood the folly of having sent away on a distant expedition the ships and the men that should have been kept at home to repel the attacks of a powerful and still uninjured foe. The Ægean cities of the Empire began to fall away; there was no way to raise further funds, but by desperate efforts a small fleet was gotten together to continue the struggle.

Aristocrats regain power

The failure of the democracy in the conduct of the war enabled the opponents of popular rule to regain power. For a time the old Council was overthrown and in the name of a new council, in the election of which the people had little voice, a group of aristocratic leaders ushered in a period of violence and bloodshed. These men strove to restore peace with Sparta, but their own excesses and the war sentiment in the fleet provoked a reaction too strong to be overcome. The democracy with some modifications was restored.

Restoration of the democracy

Greek overtures to Persia

Both Athens and Sparta had long been negotiating with Persia for support, and Sparta had concluded an agreement with Persia, which recognized Persian rule over the Greek cities of Asia. Alcibiades had now fallen out with the Spartans and gone over to Persia. He skillfully used his influence with the Persians to arouse their hostility toward Sparta and attach them to Athens. He intended this action to pave the way for his return to favor with his own fellow citizens, and it did in fact lead to his recall and appointment to command the Athenian fleet. Thus the one-time union of Greece in a heroic struggle against the Asiatic enemy had given way to a disgraceful scramble for Persian support and favor. The only benefits resulting were enjoyed by Persia as she stood by and watched the Hellenes exhausting their power and squandering their wealth in a fruitless struggle among themselves. A naval defeat followed by several victories of the Athenian fleet enabled the blind leaders of the people's party at Athens to refuse Spartan offers of peace more than once, at a time when the continuance of war was the most evident folly.

Recall of Alcibiades

Battle of Ægospotami

Then the Attic fleet of a hundred and eighty ships, lulled into false security in the Hellespont near the river called Ægospotami, was surprised by the able Spartan commander Lysander and captured almost intact as it lay drawn up on the beach. Not a man slept on the night when the terrible news of final ruin reached Athens. It was soon confirmed by the appearance of Lysander's fleet blockading the Piræus. The grain ships from the Black Sea could no longer reach the port of Athens; the Spartan army wandered through Attica plundering at will. Athens saw starvation before her, and there was nothing to do but surrender. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus were torn down, the remnant of the fleet handed over to Sparta, and Athens was forced to enter the Spartan League. These hard conditions saved the city from the complete destruction demanded by Corinth. Thus the century which had begun so gloriously for Athens with the repulse of Persia, the century which under the leadership of such men as Themistocles and Pericles had seen her rise to supremacy in all that was best and noblest in Greek life, closed with the annihilation of the Athenian Empire (404 B.C.).

Fall of Athens and destruction of the Athenian Empire

Section 32. The Higher Life of Athens after Pericles

Conflict of tradition and modernism

During this last quarter century which brought such ruin upon her, the inner life of Athens was like a troubled stream disturbed by many a whirlpool, in which the old currents of life, as it was in the days of the fathers, met the opposing currents of more modern feeling and intelligence. All felt the supreme importance of the State and of the high mission of Athens, so long held up before their eyes by Pericles. At the very time when Pericles fell a victim to the plague Herodotus had published his history (p. 188). It was a history of the world so told that the glorious leadership of Athens would be clear to all Greeks and would show them that to her the Hellenes owed

History of Herodotus

their deliverance from Persia. Throughout Greece it created a deep impression, but so tremendous was its effect in Athens that, in spite of the financial drain of war, the Athenians voted Herodotus a reward of ten talents, some thirteen thousand dollars. In this earliest history of the world which has come down to us, Herodotus traced the course of events as he believed them to be directed by the will of the gods, and as prophesied in their divine oracles. Hence he made but little effort to explain historical events as natural results, even though he was too modern and had seen too much of the Orient to believe that the gods who caused such events had been actually present on earth only a few generations back.

But the old beliefs of the fathers regarding the gods had been rudely disturbed by such men as the Sophists, and by the troublous problems of destiny which the tragedies of Euripides still placed upon the stage (Fig. 94). A comic poet named Aristophanes wrote very clever comedies in which he made ridiculous the mental struggles of Euripides. The people keenly enjoyed these as well as his amusing mockery of the teaching and methods of the Sophists. To be sure, they were also obliged to see the rule of the people with all its weaknesses and mistakes ridiculed on the same stage, much as we see the faults of our own lawmakers pictured in the cartoons which adorn our daily papers. Thus, while the citizens were still ready for any popular experiment in government by the people at the expense of the aristocrats, they shared the feelings of the aristocrats in their resentment toward those who stirred up doubt regarding the gods of the fathers.

Aristophanes

Aristophanes was sure of a sympathetic audience of Athenians when he put upon the stage a caricature of a certain annoying citizen, whose ill-clothed figure and ugly face (Fig. 96) had become familiar in the streets to all the folk of Athens since the outbreak of the second war with Sparta. He had just returned from a campaign in the north; his name was Socrates, and he was the son of a stone mason. He was accustomed to

Socrates

BELLARMINE HALL SUMMER SCHOOL

stand about the market place, the street corners, and the public baths all day long, insisting on engaging in conversation every citizen he met, and asking a great many questions, which left the average citizen in a very confused state of mind. He seemed to call in question everything which the citizen had formerly regarded as settled. Yet this familiar and homely figure of the stone mason's son was the personification of the best and highest in Greek genius. Without desire for office or a political career, Socrates' supreme interest nevertheless was the State. He believed that the State, made up as it was of citizens, could be purified and saved only by the improvement of the individual citizen through the education of his mind to recognize virtue and right.

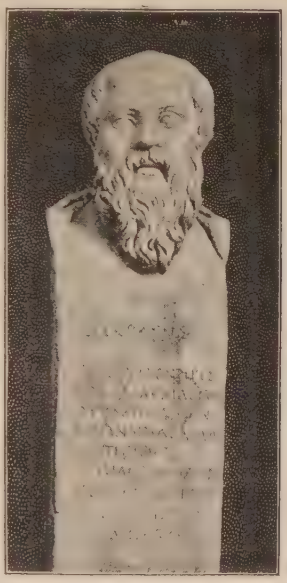


FIG. 96. PORTRAIT OF SOCRATES

This is not the best of the numerous surviving portraits of Socrates, but it is especially interesting because it bears under the philosopher's name nine inscribed lines containing a portion of his public defense as reported by Plato in his *Apology*

Herein lies the supreme achievement of Socrates as he daily confronted problems which the mind of man was clearly stating for the first time; he planted his feet upon what he regarded as an immovable rock of truth; namely, that the human mind is able to recognize and determine what are truth and virtue, beauty and honesty, and all the other great ideas which mean so much to human life. To him these ideas were real. He taught that by keen questioning and discussion it is possible to reject error and perceive these realities. Inspired by this impregnable belief,

His belief in man's power to discern the great truths as such and to shape his conduct by them

Socrates went about in Athens, engaging all his fellow citizens in such discussion, convinced that he might thus lead each citizen in turn to a knowledge of the leading and compelling virtues. Furthermore, he firmly believed that the citizen who had once recognized these virtues would shape every action and all his life by them. Socrates thus revealed the power of virtue and similar ideas by argument and logic, but he made no appeal to religion as an influence toward good conduct. Nevertheless he showed himself a deeply religious man, believing with devout heart in the gods, although they were not exactly those of the fathers, and even feeling, like the Hebrew prophets, that there was a divine voice within him, calling him to his high mission.

Public opinion of Socrates

The simple but powerful personality of this greatest of Greek teachers in the streets of Athens often opened to him the houses of the rich and noble. His fame spread far and wide, and when the Delphian oracle (Fig. 82) was asked who was the wisest of the living, it responded with the name of Socrates. A group of pupils gathered about him, among whom the most famous was Plato. But it was natural that his aims and his noble efforts on behalf of the Athenian state should be misunderstood. His keen questions seemed to throw doubt upon all the old beliefs. The Athenians had already shown their displeasure toward more than one leading Sophist who had rejected the old faith and teaching (see p. 193).

The trial of Socrates

They summoned Socrates to trial for corrupting the youth. Such examples as Alcibiades, who had been his pupil, seemed convincing illustrations of the viciousness of his teaching; everybody had seen and many had read with growing resentment the comedy of Aristophanes which held him up to contempt and hatred. Socrates might easily have left Athens when the complaint was lodged against him. Nevertheless he appeared for trial, made a powerful and dignified defense (Fig. 96), and, when the court voted the death penalty, passed his last days in tranquil conversation with his friends and pupils, in whose presence he then quietly drank the fatal hemlock (399 B.C.). Thus

the Athenian democracy, which had so fatally mismanaged the affairs of the nation in war, brought upon itself much greater reproach in condemning to death, even though in accordance with law, the greatest and purest soul among its citizens (Fig. 97). Execution of Socrates

FIG. 97. STREET OF TOMBS OUTSIDE ANCIENT ATHENS

It was the custom both of Greeks and Romans (Fig. 127) to bury their dead outside one of the city gates, on either side of the highway. This Athenian cemetery, outside the Dipylon Gate (see plan, p. 173), was on the Sacred Way to Eleusis (Fig. 80, and plan, p. 173), both sides of which were lined for some distance with marble tomb-monuments. The Roman Sulla (p. 265), in his eastern war, while besieging Athens, piled up earth as a causeway leading to the top of the wall of Athens (see plan, p. 173) at this point. The part of the cemetery which he covered with earth was thus preserved, to be dug out in modern times — the only surviving portion of such an ancient Greek street of tombs. In this cemetery the Athenians of Socrates' day were buried. The monument at the left shows a brave Athenian youth on horseback, charging the fallen enemy. He was slain in the Corinthian War and buried here a few years after the death of Socrates (p. 207)

The undisturbed serenity of Socrates in his last hours, as pictured to us in Plato's beautiful account of the scene, profoundly affected the whole Greek world, and still forms one of the most precious possessions of humanity. But the glorified The influence of Socrates after his death

figure of Socrates, as he appears in the writings of his pupils, was to prove more powerful even than the living teacher. The past could not be recalled, and, in spite of themselves, thinking people were already beginning to take up the very views which they had striven to stamp out by such means as the verdict against Socrates. The historian Thucydides, who was now writing his great account of the wars which destroyed the Athenian Empire, no longer discerned only the will of the gods in these events but, with an insight like that of modern historians, was tracing events to their natural causes in the world of men where they occur.

Thucydides

Section 33. The Age of Spartan Leadership

The leadership of Sparta

The long duel for supremacy in the Greek world between Athens and Sparta, which occupied a large part of the latter half of the fifth century before Christ, ended toward the close of that century in the complete collapse of Athens. While the two states were devouring one another Persia had again appeared on the scene, and it was only by the use of Persian money that Sparta had accomplished the destruction of the last Athenian fleet. It now remained to be seen whether Sparta (Fig. 87) could maintain the leadership of the Greek world, and thrust back the Persians in Asia as Athens had done.

Lysander and Spartan methods

Sparta was now dominated by the commanding figure of Lysander, who had destroyed the last remnants of Attic sea power. Under his guidance the popular party in each of the city-states, including Athens, was deprived of power as far as possible, and the control placed in the hands of a group of the old aristocrats. A garrison under a Spartan officer was placed in many of the cities, and Spartan control was maintained in much more offensive form than was the old tyranny of Athens in her empire over the island cities, against which Sparta had always protested. The Athenian democracy, however, finally regained and maintained control of Attic affairs.

War between Sparta and Persia

It was one of the saddest things in the whole tangled situation that when Sparta finally fell out with Persia, and stepped in to defend the Ionian cities, a fleet of Athens made common cause with the Persians and helped to fasten Persian despotism on the Greek cities of Asia. The Greeks had learned nothing by their long and unhappy experience of fruitless wars. When peace was at last established it was under the humiliating terms of a treaty accepted by Hellas at the hands of the Persian king, to whom the Greek states had appealed. It is known as the King's Peace (387 B.C.). It recognized the leadership of Sparta over all the Greek states; but the Greek cities of Asia Minor were shamefully abandoned to Persia.

King's Peace (387 B.C.)

Greece under Sparta during the King's Peace

The period of the King's Peace brought only discontent with Sparta's control and no satisfactory solution of the question of the relations of the Greek states among themselves. The unyielding military organization of Sparta had long ago crushed individual aspirations for a higher culture, and even all individual genius in leadership had been suppressed. Even men like Pausanias, the victor over the Persians at Platæa, or Lysander, the conqueror of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami, were unable to transform the rigid Spartan system into a government which should sympathetically include and direct the activities of the whole Greek world.

Rise of the science of government

At Athens the burning question had now become the problem of the proper form of a free state — the problem which the efforts of Socrates toward an enlightened citizenship had thrust into the foreground. What should be the form of the ideal state? The Orient had already had its social idealism. By 2000 B.C. the Egyptian sages were striving for a state which should realize brotherly kindness and social justice. The more hopeful among them thought to find it under a righteous king and just officials. Later on in the eighth century B.C. the Hebrews also had begun to dream of an ideal state ruled by a righteous king like the David of their fond idealization of the past. In the Orient, however, it had never occurred to these social dreamers to discuss

the *form of government* of the ideal state. They accepted as a matter of course the monarchy under which they lived as the natural form for the state. But in Greece the question of the form of government, whether a kingdom, a republic, or what not, was now earnestly discussed. Thus there arose a new science, the *science of government.*

Plato

Plato, the most gifted pupil of Socrates, published much of his beloved master's teaching in the form of dialogues, supposedly reproducing the discussions of the great teacher himself. Then after extensive travels in Egypt and the west he returned to Athens, where he set up his school in a grove near the gymnasium of Academus (hence our word "academy"). Convinced of the hopelessness of democracy in Athens, he reluctantly gave up all thought of a career as a statesman, to which he had been strongly drawn, and devoted himself to teaching. He was both philosopher and poet. The ideas which Socrates maintained the human mind could discern, became for Plato eternal realities, having an existence outside of man and his mind. The human soul, he taught, had always existed, and in an earlier state had beheld the great ideas such as goodness, beauty, evil, as if they were pictures, and the soul had thus gained a vision of them which in this earthly life it now recalled, and recognized again. People gifted with such vision were the ones to control the ideal state, for they would necessarily act in accordance with the ideas of virtue and justice which they had discerned. It was possible by education, thought Plato, to lead the souls of men to a clear vision of these ideas.

Plato's ideal state

In a noble essay entitled *The Republic* Plato presents a lofty vision of his ideal state. Here live the enlightened souls governing a society ruled by the highest ideals of righteousness and justice. They do no work, but depend on craftsmen and slaves for all menial labor. And yet the comforts and luxury which they enjoy are the product of that very world of industry and commerce in a Greek city which Plato so thoroughly despises. The plan places far too much dependence on education,

and takes no account of the dignity and immense importance of labor in human society. Moreover, Plato's ideal state is the self-contained, self-controlling city-state as it had in times past supposedly existed in Greece. He fails to perceive that the real question in Greece is now *the relation of these cities to each other*. He does not discern that the life of a cultivated state unavoidably expands beyond its borders, and by its needs and its contributions affects the life of surrounding states. It cannot be confined within its *political* borders, for its *commercial* borders lie as far distant as its galleys can carry its produce.

Growth of a Hellenized world

Thus boundary lines cannot separate nations; their life overlaps and flows together with the life round about them. It was so within Greece, and it was so far beyond the borders of Greek territory. There had grown up an *ancient world* which was reading Greek books, using Greek utensils, fitting up its houses with Greek furniture, decorating its house interiors with Greek paintings, building Greek theaters, learning Greek tactics in war — a great Mediterranean and Oriental world bound together by lines of commerce, travel, and common economic interests. For this world, as a coming political unity, the lofty idealist Plato, in spite of his travels, had no eyes. To this world, once dominated by oriental culture, the Greeks had given the noblest and sanest ideas yet attained by the mind of civilized man, and to this world likewise the Greeks should have given political leadership.

Lack of Greek political leadership in the world dominated by Hellas

Isocrates

Men in practical life, like Isocrates, a very able Athenian writer of political pamphlets, clearly understood the situation at this time (first half of the fourth century B.C.). Isocrates urged the Greeks to bury their petty differences, and expand their local patriotism into a loyalty for the united Greek world. He told his countrymen that, so united, they could easily overthrow the decaying Persian Empire and make themselves lords of the world, whereas now they were but the feeble creatures of the king of Persia.

Xenophon

Xenophon also, who had marched into the heart of the Persian Empire with the ten thousand Greek troops hired by Cyrus the Persian prince to assist him in overthrowing

his brother, Artaxerxes II, — Xenophon had witnessed the defeat of a large Persian army of archers by the shock of the irresistible Greek phalanx. Xenophon wrote out the story of his journey, and his book was widely read. To all Greece the weakness of the Persian State was evident. Every motive toward unity was present. But yet no Greek city was ready to submit to the leadership of another, and no plan of federation could be devised which proved satisfactory to all.

Section 34. The Leadership of Thebes

Athens and Thebes unite against Sparta

Within ten years after the beginning of the King's Peace, Athens had recovered sufficient sea power to begin the organization of a second maritime alliance like her old Empire. The Spartan fleet was beaten and an alliance with Thebes was arranged which greatly disquieted Sparta. Thebes succeeded in gaining the leadership of Bœotia, and when during the arrangement of a peace with Sparta the Spartans refused to recognize Thebes as the head of Bœotia, the Thebans made ready to oppose the Spartan invasion and the two armies met at Leuctra. The skillful Theban commander Epaminondas drew up his troops in a manner altogether novel, so placing his line that it was not parallel with that of the Spartans, his right wing being much further from the Spartan line than his left. At the same time he massed his troops on his left wing, making it many shields deep. This last was an old device.[1]

Destruction of Spartan power and the leadership of Thebes

As the lines moved into action the battle did not begin along the whole front at once; but the Theban left wing, being furthest advanced, met the Spartan line first and was at first engaged alone. Its onset proved so heavy that the Spartan right opposing it was soon crushed, and the rest of the Spartan line was unable to stand as the Theban center and right came into action.

[1] It is frequently stated that the new device of Epaminondas was the massing on his left wing. But this was not a new device; the Thebans had employed it against the Athenians at the battle of Delium (424 B.C.) Epaminondas's innovation consisted in the obliqueness of his line of battle as it advanced.

The long invincible Spartan army was thus at last defeated. While continuing the war into Spartan territory, even to Sparta itself,[1] Thebes under Epaminondas's leadership likewise created a navy and greatly weakened Athenian supremacy at sea. Thus, with Spartan power at last shattered, and Athens held in check on the sea, Thebes gained the leadership of Greece.

Collapse of Thebes

But it was a supremacy based upon the genius of a single man, and when Epaminondas fell in a final battle with Sparta at Mantinea (362 B.C.), the power of Thebes by land and sea again collapsed. Thus the only powerful Greek states, which might have developed a federation of the Hellenic world, having destroyed each other, were ready to fall helplessly before the conqueror from the outside. He appeared in the person of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Nor were the powerful and highly civilized Greek cities of the west in Italy and Sicily, like Syracuse, able to assume the political leadership of the Hellenes. The Greek world, whose culture was everywhere supreme, was politically prostrate and helpless.

Final political prostration of the whole Greek world

QUESTIONS

SECTION 31. What causes contributed to hostilities between Athens and Sparta? Who were the other enemies of Athens? By whom was she supported? What catastrophe caused the fall of Pericles? Had he founded a system which left to Athens wise and stable leadership? Give some account of Alcibiades. What kind of leadership did Athens now receive? Give an example. What was the result of ten years of war?

What spirit had pervaded the struggle? Why did the peace of Nicias fail? Who brought on war again? Tell the story of the Sicilian expedition. What did Sparta do after the destruction of the Sicilian expedition? Give an account of the Decelean War. What kind of leadership did the Athenian democracy furnish in this war? What was the outcome? What became of the Athenian Empire?

SECTION 32. In what condition was the higher life of Athens after the death of Pericles? What was the purpose of the history

[1] Where the city was still without walls (see Fig. 87 and explanation).

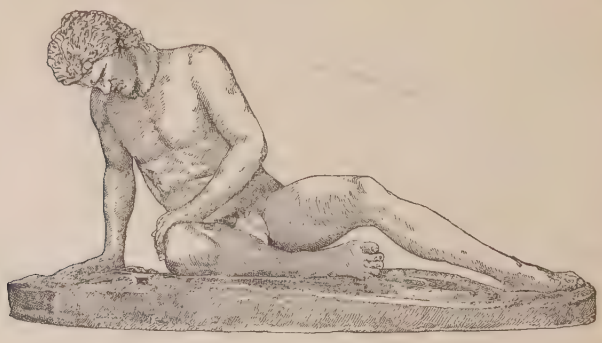
of Herodotus? To what causes does Herodotus trace events in the history of men? What happened to the old beliefs about the gods? What attitude did Aristophanes take toward the Sophists and Euripides? What was the attitude of the people? Tell something of the life of Socrates.

What was his method of teaching? What was his supreme interest? What did he teach? What were the realities to him? How did he believe they could be discerned? What was his purpose? Of what in particular was he the champion? How was he regarded in Athens and in Greece? Give an account of his last days. Did his teaching die with him? Where did the historian Thucydides find the causes for the events in the history of men?

SECTION 33. Describe Spartan methods of controlling the other Greek states. What were now the relations between the Greeks and Persia? How did the Spartan system affect her leading men? How did the study which we may call the science of government arise? Relate the career of Plato. Describe his ideal state. Wherein does it fail to be practical?

What kind of leadership did the Greeks fail to furnish? Could leadership in Plato's age be confined to a single city-state? What did practical men like Isocrates and Xenophon advise?

SECTION 34. How did Thebes gain the leadership of Greece? Who was her great commander? What was his clever military device? What was the cause of his successes? Did the western Greeks in Italy and Sicily succeed in furnishing leadership for all the Greeks and combining them into one nation? What was the final result of the long struggle among the Greek states?



CHAPTER IX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Section 35. The Rise of Macedonia

Persistence of disunion among the Greeks; necessity of political leadership from abroad

The common danger which threatened all Greek states alike, the power of Persia, had failed to bring together the Greek cities and weld them into a nation, or even to unite them in a federation of any permanence. It was evident that the persistent local patriotism of such city-states, in some respects like the "sectionalism" which brought on the great Civil War in the United States, would not submit to the leadership of any one of their number. Exhausted by ceaseless wars among themselves, their union was now to be accomplished by a people whom the Greeks loftily classified among the "barbarians."

The uncultivated states of the Balkan Peninsula and the north

On the northern frontiers in the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula Greek civilization gradually faded and disappeared, merging into the barbarism which had descended from the Europe of the Stone Age. These backward northerners, such as the Thracians, spoke Indo-European tongues akin to Greek, but their Greek kindred of the south could not understand them. Nevertheless a surface of Greek civilization began here and there to mask somewhat the otherwise rough and uncultivated life of the peasant population of Macedonia. The Macedonian kings began to cultivate Greek literature and art. The mother of Philip of Macedon was grateful that she had been able to learn to write in her old age.

Philip of Macedon and his policy of expansion

Philip himself had enjoyed a Greek education, but when he gained the power over Macedonia in 360 B.C. he had by no means completely suppressed the barbarous instincts still throbbing in his blood. Many an unbridled orgy and drunken revel

betrayed his northern origin. But as a hostage at Thebes he had learned to maneuver an army under the eye of no less a master than Epaminondas, the conqueror of the Spartans, and his keen intelligence made him both a skillful commander and an able statesman. He completely transformed the Macedonians, organized them chiefly on Greek methods into an unconquerable army, and steadily expanded the territory of his kingdom eastward and northward until it reached the Danube and the Hellespont.

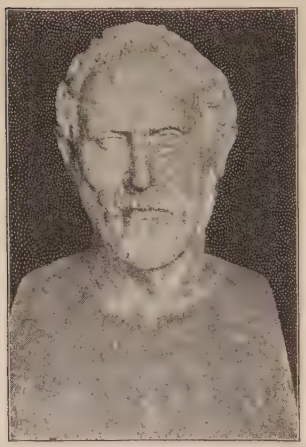


Fig. 98. Portrait Bust of Demosthenes

As he absorbed the Greek cities of the northern Ægean, he of course collided with the interests of the southern Greek states like Athens, where Demosthenes (Fig. 98) was now delivering those famous orations against Philip and the Macedonian policy, which have become traditional among us as "Philippics."[1] After a long series of hostilities Philip defeated the Greek forces in a final battle at Chæronea (338 B.C.), and firmly established his position as head of a league of all the Greek states except Sparta, which still held out against him. He had begun operations in Asia Minor for the freedom of the Greek cities there, when two years after the battle of Chæronea he was stabbed by conspirators during the revelries at the wedding of his daughter.

The power passed into the hands of his son Alexander, a youth of only twenty years. Fortunately Philip also left behind

[1] At the same time there was a sentiment in Greece, even in Athens, which favored Philip's imperial plans, and saw in him the uniter and savior of Greece. This sentiment found a voice in Isocrates, the Athenian pamphleteer, now an aged man, who had so long chided the Greeks for lack of unity in opposing Persia (see p. 211).

him in the Macedonians of his court a group of remarkable men, of kingly abilities such as no century of the ancient world had ever yet seen. They were devoted to the royal house, and Alexander's early successes were in no small measure due to them. But their very devotion, ability, and firmness of character, as we shall see, later brought the young king into a personal conflict which contained all the elements of a tremendous tragedy (see p. 228).

The successors of Philip of Macedon

Section 36. Campaigns of Alexander the Great

When Alexander was thirteen years of age, his father had called to the Macedonian court the great philosopher Aristotle, a former pupil of Plato, to be the teacher of the young prince. Aristotle, the most gifted successor of Socrates and Plato, was treating every possible subject in learned essays and arranging the known facts and discoveries in all branches of science in a great series of treatises, which became the world's Encyclopædia Britannica for nearly two thousand years. Under the instruction of this greatest of the living Greek thinkers, the lad learned to know and love the masterpieces of Greek literature, especially the Homeric songs. The deeds of the ancient heroes touched and kindled his youthful imagination and lent an heroic tinge to his whole character, while, as he grew and his mind ripened, his whole personality was aglow with the splendor of Greek genius and Hellenic culture. He came to believe absolutely in its power and superiority, and in its inevitable success as a civilizing influence.

Education and character of Alexander the Great

When Thebes revolted against Macedonia for the second time after Philip's death, Alexander, knowing that he must take up the struggle with Persia, realized that it would not be safe for him to march into Asia without giving the Greek states a lesson which they would not forget. He therefore captured and completely destroyed the ancient city of Thebes, sparing only the house of the great poet Pindar. All Greece was thus taught to

Alexander's ability to create a dramatic impression of his mission as champion of Hellas

fear and respect his power, but learned at the same time to recognize his reverence for Greek genius. Alexander already dreamed of world-wide conquests, and the Asiatic campaign which he now planned was to vindicate his position as the champion of Hellas against Asia.

He thought to lead the united Greeks against the Persian lord of Asia, as the Hellenes had once made common cause against Asiatic Troy. Leading his army of Macedonians and allied Greeks into Asia Minor, he therefore stopped at Troy and camped upon the plain (Fig. 58 and map, p. 146) where the Greek heroes of the Homeric songs had once fought. Here he worshiped in the temple of Athena, and prayed for the success of his cause against Persia. He thus contrived to throw around himself the heroic atmosphere of the Trojan War, till all Hellas beheld the dauntless figure of the Macedonian youth, as it were, against the background of that glorious age which in their belief had so long ago united Greek arms against Asia (p. 133).

Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.) and conquest of Asia Minor

The Persian satraps, with what troops they could gather, endeavored to bar his eastward progress, but at the river Granicus he had no difficulty in scattering their forces in a decisive action. Following the Macedonian custom the young king, then but twenty-two years of age, led his troops into the thick of the fray and exposed his royal person without hesitation. But for the timely support of Clitus, the brother of his childhood nurse, who bravely pushed in before him at a critical moment, the impetuous young king would have lost his life in the action on the Granicus. Marching southward he took the Greek cities one by one, and freed all western Asia Minor forever from the Persian yoke.

Alexander's march through Asia Minor

Meantime a huge Persian fleet dominated the Mediterranean. It was at this moment that the young Macedonian, little more than a boy in years, began to display his mastery of a military situation which demanded the completest understanding of the art of war. It was a vast stage on which he was to dictate the course of the stirring world drama for the next ten years

(333–323 B.C.). Believing that his destruction of Thebes had furnished the Greeks such an evidence of the terrible consequences of revolt that not even a Persian fleet in the Ægean could arouse Hellas to hostility against him in his absence, Alexander pushed boldly eastward and rounded the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. Here was spread out before him the vast Asiatic world of forty million souls where the family of the Great King had been supreme for two hundred years.

Defeat of Darius III at the battle of Issus (333 B.C.)

At this important point, by the Gulf of Issus, Alexander met the main army of Persia, under the personal command of the Great King, Darius III, the last of the line. In a fierce battle the irresistible onset of Alexander and his Macedonians (Fig. 99), combined with the skillful arrangement of his troops, swept the Asiatics from the field, and the disorderly retreat of Darius never stopped until it had crossed the Euphrates. The Great King then sent a letter to Alexander desiring terms of peace and offering to accept the Euphrates as a boundary between them, all Asia west of that river to be handed over to the Macedonians.

The situation after Issus, and Alexander's friends

It is a dramatic picture, the figure of the young king, still only twenty-three years old, standing with this letter in his hand. As he ponders it he is surrounded by a group of the ablest Macedonian youth, who have grown up around him as his closest friends; but likewise by old and trusted counselors upon whom his father before him had leaned. The hazards of battle and of march, and the daily associations of camp and bivouac, have wrought the closest bonds of love and friendship and intimate influence between these loyal Macedonians and their ardent young king.

As he considers the letter of Darius therefore, his father's old general Parmenio, who has commanded the Macedonian left wing in the battle just won, proffers him serious counsel. We can almost see the old man leaning familiarly over the shoulder of this imperious boy of twenty-three and pointing out across the Mediterranean, as he bids Alexander remember the Persian fleet operating there in his rear, and likely to stir up revolt against him

in Greece. He says too that with Darius behind the Euphrates, as proposed in the letter, Persia will be at a safe distance from Europe and the Greek world. The campaign against the Great King, he urges, has secured all that could reasonably be expected. Undoubtedly he adds that Philip himself, the young king's father, had at the utmost no further plans against Persia than those already successfully carried out. There is nothing to do, says Parmenio, but to accept the terms offered by the Great King.

The decision after Issus, and Alexander's friction with his friends

In this critical decision lay the parting of the ways. Before the kindling eyes of the young Alexander there rose a vision of world-empire dominated by Greek civilization — a vision to which the duller eyes about him were entirely closed. He waved aside his father's old counselors and decided to press on in pursuit of the Persian king. In this far-reaching decision he disclosed at once the powerful personality which represented a new age. Thus arose the conflict which never ends — the

* The artist who designed this great work has selected the supreme moment when the Persians (at the right) are endeavoring to rescue their king from the onset of the Macedonians (at the left). Alexander, the bareheaded figure on horseback at the left, charges furiously against the Persian king (Darius III), who stands in his chariot (at the right). The Macedonian attack is so impetuous that the Persian king's life is endangered. A Persian noble dismounts and offers his riderless horse, that the king may quickly mount and escape. Devoted Persian nobles heroically ride in between their king and the Macedonian onset, to give Darius an opportunity to mount. But Alexander's spear has passed entirely through the body of one of these Persian nobles, who has thus given his life for his king. Darius throws out his hand in grief and horror at the awful death of his noble friend. The driver of the royal chariot (behind the king) lashes his three horses, endeavoring to carry Darius from the field in flight (p. 219). This magnificent battle scene is put together from bits of colored glass (mosaic) forming a floor pavement, discovered in 1831 at the Roman town of Pompeii (Fig. 128). It has been injured in places, especially at the left, where parts of the figures of Alexander and his horse have disappeared. It is a Roman copy of an older Hellenistic work, probably a painting done at Alexandria (p. 233). It is one of the greatest scenes of heroism in battle ever painted, and illustrates the splendor of Hellenistic art.

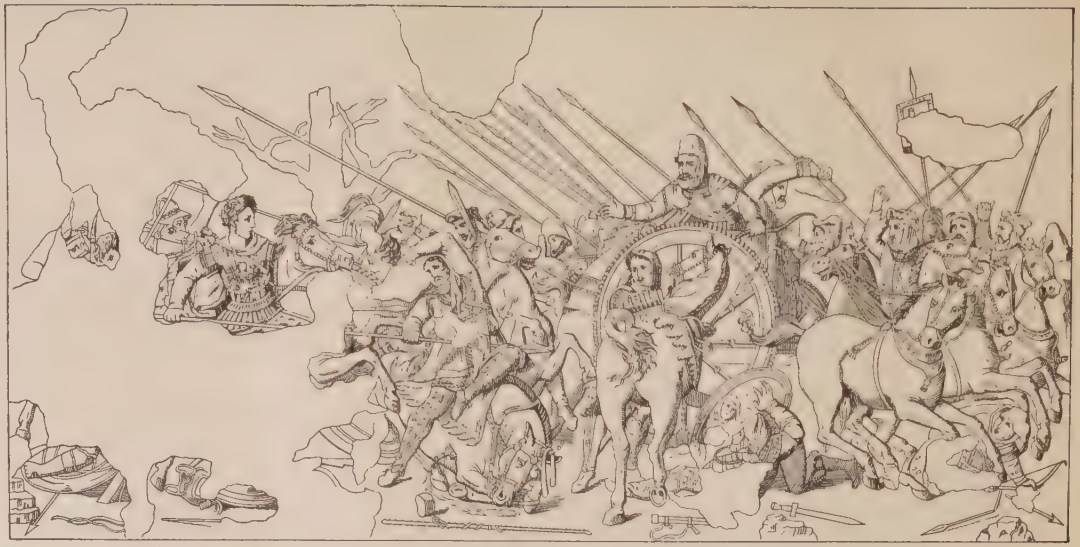


FIG. 99. ALEXANDER THE GREAT CHARGING THE BODYGUARD AND OFFICERS OF THE PERSIAN KING AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS *

conflict between the new age and the old. Never has it been more dramatically staged than as we find it here in the daily growing friction between Alexander and that group of devoted, if less gifted, Macedonians who were now drawn by him into the labors of Heracles — the conquest of the world.

Conquest of Phœnicia and Egypt; dispersion of the Persian fleet; march to the Tigris

The danger from the Persian fleet was now carefully and deliberately met by a march southward along the eastern end of the Mediterranean. All the Phœnician seaports on the way were captured, and disorganized Egypt fell an easy prey to the Macedonian arms. The Persian fleet, thus deprived of all its home harbors and cut off from its home government, soon scattered and disappeared. Having freed himself in this way from the danger of an enemy in his rear, Alexander then returned from Egypt to Asia, crossed the Euphrates, and marched to the Tigris, where, near Arbela, the Great King had gathered his forces for a last stand.

Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.)

Parmenio advised a surprise by night attack, but Alexander characteristically disregarded the old general's suggestions, and in a battle planned by himself crushed the Persian army and forced the Great King into disgraceful flight. In a few days Alexander was established in the winter palace of Persia, in Babylon. As Darius fled into the eastern mountains he was stabbed by his own treacherous attendants (330 B.C.). Alexander rode up with a few of his officers in time to look upon the body of the last of the Persian emperors, the lord of Asia, whose vast realm had now passed into his hands. He punished the murderers and sent the body with all respect to the fallen ruler's mother and sister, to whom he had extended protection and hospitality. Thus at last both the valley of the Nile and the "fertile crescent" (see p. 56), the two earliest homes of those ancient oriental civilizations, whose long careers we have already sketched (see Chapters II–III), were now in the hands of a European power and under the control of a newer and higher civilization. Only five years had passed since the young Macedonian had entered Asia.

Death of Darius III (330 B.C.); Alexander lord of the ancient East

Alexander captures the Persian royal cities

Although the Macedonians had nothing more to fear from the Persian arms, there still remained much for Alexander to do in order to establish his empire in Asia. On he marched through the original little kingdom of the Persian kings, whence Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, had victoriously come forth over two hundred years before (see pp. 96–97). He stopped at Susa, one of the most important of the royal Persian residences, and then passed on to Persepolis, where he gave a dramatic exhibition of his supremacy in Asia by setting fire to the Persian palace (Fig. 52) with his own hand, as the Persians had once done to Miletus and to the temples on the Athenian Acropolis. It was but an act symbolic of vengeance, and Alexander ordered the flames extinguished before serious damage was done.

Alexander's campaigns in the Far East (330–324 B.C.)

After touching Ecbatana in the north, and leaving behind the trusted Parmenio in charge of the enormous treasure of gold and silver, accumulated for generations by the Persian kings, Alexander again moved eastward. In the course of the next five years, while the Greek world looked on in amazement, the young Macedonian seemed to disappear in the mists on the far-off fringes of the known world. He marched his army in one vast loop after another through the heart of the Iranian plateau (see map, p. 80), northward across the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, southward across the Indus and the frontiers of India, into the valley of the Ganges, where at last the murmurs of his fearless army forced him to turn back.

Alexander returns to Babylon (323 B.C.); some results of his eastern campaigns

He descended the Indus, and even sailed the waters of the Indian Ocean. Then he began his westward march again along the shores of the Indian Ocean, accompanied by a fleet which he had built on the Indus. The return march through desert wastes cost many lives as the thirsty and ill-provisioned troops dropped by the way. Over seven years after he had left the great city of Babylon, Alexander entered it again. He had been eleven years in Asia, and he had carried Greek civilization into the very heart of the continent. At important points along his line of march he had founded Greek cities bearing his name,

and had set up kingdoms which were to be centers of Greek influence on the frontiers of India. From such centers Greek art entered India, to become the source of the art which still survives there; and the Greek works of art from Alexander's communities in these remote regions of the east penetrated even to China, to contribute to the later art of China and Japan. Never before had East and West so interpenetrated as in these amazing marches and campaigns of Alexander.

Section 37. International Policy of Alexander: its Personal Consequences

Alexander's scientific enterprises

During all these unparalleled achievements the mind of this young Hercules never ceased to busy itself with a thousand problems on every side. He dispatched an exploring expedition up the Nile to ascertain the causes of the annual overflow of the river, and another to the shores of the Caspian Sea to build a fleet and circumnavigate that sea, the northern end of which was still unknown. He brought a number of scientific men with him from Greece, and with their aid he sent hundreds of natural-history specimens home to Greece to his old teacher Aristotle, then teaching in Athens.

His endeavor to merge European and Asiatic civilization

Meantime he applied himself with diligence to the organization and administration of his vast conquests. Such problems must have kept him tediously bending over many a huge pile of state papers, or dictating his great plans to his secretaries and officers. He believed implicitly in the power and superiority of Greek culture. He was determined to Hellenize the world and to merge Asia with Europe by transplanting colonies of Greeks and Macedonians. In his army, Macedonian, Greek, and Asiatic stood side by side. He himself felt that he could not rule the world as a Macedonian, but must make concessions to the Persian world (Plate V, p. 224). He married Roxana, an Asiatic princess, and at a gorgeous wedding festival he obliged his officers and friends also to marry the daughters of Asiatic

PLATE V. GREEKS AND PERSIANS HUNTING LIONS WITH ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander is out of range at the left. A Greek on horseback endeavors to pierce the wounded lion with his spear. A Persian on foot wields an ax. Relief scene on a marble sarcophagus found at Sidon in 1881; the colors are exactly as on the original, now in the Museum at Constantinople. It was made not long after Alexander's death, and is one of the greatest works of Hellenistic art (p. 235). (After Winter, *Alexandermosaik*)

nobles. Thousands of Macedonians in the army followed the example of their royal lord and took Asiatic wives. He appointed Persians to high offices and set them over provinces as satraps. He even adopted Persian raiment in part.

Alexander makes plans for the conquest of the western Mediterranean

Amid all this he carefully worked out a complete plan of campaign for the conquest of the western Mediterranean, including instructions for the building of a fleet of a thousand battleships with which to subdue Italy, Sicily, and Carthage, and a vast roadway along the northern coast of Africa, to be built at an appalling expense and to furnish a highway for his army from Egypt to Carthage and the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). It is here that Alexander's statesmanship may be criticized. If he had spent less time on the remote frontiers in the far east, and gone earlier to the west, he would have saved himself and Hellas incalculable losses.

Deification of Alexander and its logical necessity

What was to be his own position in this colossal world-state of which he dreamed? That question he had settled seven years before in Egypt. When he entered Asia he was king of Macedonia, duke of Thessaly, and general and head of a league or federation of the Greek states, finally including also Sparta, which had defied his father. Many a great Greek had come to be recognized as a god, and there was in Greek belief no sharp line dividing gods from men. Moreover, after a long struggle, the Greeks had come to believe that their gods had all once been human beings of power and influence during their lives. The will of a god, in so far as a Greek might believe in him at all, was still a thing to which he bowed without question and with no feeling that he was being subjected to tyranny. Alexander found in this attitude of the Greek mind the solution of the question of his own position. He would have himself lifted to the realm of the gods, where he might impose his will upon the Greek cities without offense. This solution was the more easy because it had for ages been customary to regard the king as divine in Egypt, where he was a son of the sun-god, and it was a common idea in the Orient.

Alexander's visit to Siwa — the desert shrine of Amon

In Egypt therefore he had deliberately taken the time, while a still unconquered Persian army was awaiting him in Asia, to march with a small following far out into the Sahara Desert to the Oasis of Siwa (see map, p. 80, and Fig. 100), where there was a shrine of the Egyptian god Amon. Amon had been identified

FIG. 100. OASIS OF SIWA IN THE SAHARA

In this oasis was the famous temple of the Egyptian god Amon (or Ammon), who delivered oracles greatly prized by the Greeks (p. 237). Alexander marched hither from the coast, a distance of some two hundred miles, and thence back to the Nile at Memphis, some three hundred and fifty miles (see map, p. 80). A modern caravan requires twenty-one days to go from the Nile to this oasis. Such an oasis is a deep depression in the desert plateau; the level of the plateau is seen at the tops of the cliffs on the right. Its fertility is due to many springs and flowing wells

with Zeus, and the oracles of Zeus-Amon at Siwa enjoyed the respect of the whole Greek world. Here in the vast solitude Alexander entered the holy place alone. No one knew what took place there; but when he issued again he was greeted by the high priest of the temple as the son of Zeus. Alexander took good care that all Greece should hear of this remarkable occurrence, but the Hellenes had to wait some years before they learned what it all meant.

Alexander demands his deification by the Greek cities of the dissolved league

Four years later the young king found that this divinity which he claimed lacked outward and visible manifestations. There must go with it some outward observances which would vividly suggest his character as a god to the minds of the world which he ruled. He adopted oriental usages, among which was the demand that all who approached him on official occasions should bow down to the earth and kiss his feet. He also sent formal notification to all the Greek cities that the league of which he had been head was dissolved, that he was henceforth to be officially numbered among the gods of each city, and that as such he was to receive the state offerings which each city presented.

Absolute monarchy and divine right of kings

Thus were introduced into Europe absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings. Indeed, through Alexander there was transferred to Europe much of the spirit of that Orient which had been repulsed at Marathon and Salamis. But these measures of Alexander were not the efforts of a weak mind to gratify a vanity so drunk with power that it could be satisfied only with superhuman honors. They were carefully devised political measures dictated by state policy, and systematically developed step by step for years.

Personal consequences suffered by Alexander as a result of his deification and international policy

This superhuman station, investing with divine power the throne of the world-king Alexander, was gained at tragic cost to Alexander the Macedonian youth and to the group of friends and followers about him (p. 219). Beneath the Persian robes of the State-god Alexander beat the warm heart of a young Macedonian. He had lifted himself to an exalted and lonely eminence whither those devoted friends who had followed him to the ends of the earth could follow him no longer. Neither could they comprehend the necessity for measures which thus strained or snapped entirely those bonds of friendship which linked together comrades in arms. And then there were the Persian intruders treated like the equals of his personal friends (Plate V, p. 224), or even placed over them! The tragic consequences of such a situation were inevitable.

Execution of Philotas, Parmenio, and their friends

Early in those tremendous marches eastward, after Darius's death, Philotas, son of Parmenio, had learned of a conspiracy against Alexander's life, but his bitterness and estrangement were such that he failed to report his guilty knowledge to the king. The conspirators were all given a fair and legal trial, and Alexander himself suffered the bitterness of seeing a whole group of his former friends and companions, including Philotas, condemned and executed in the presence of the army. The trusted Parmenio, father of Philotas, still guarding the Persian treasure at Ecbatana, was also implicated, and a messenger was sent back with orders for the old general's immediate execution. This was but the beginning of the ordeal through which the man Alexander was to pass, in order that the world-king Alexander might mount the throne of a god.

Alexander slays his friend Clitus

Clitus also, who had saved his life at Granicus, was filled with grief and indignation at Alexander's political course. At a royal feast, where these matters intruded upon the conversation, Clitus was guilty of unguarded criticisms of his lord and then, entirely losing his self-mastery, he finally heaped such unbridled reproaches upon the king that Alexander, rising in uncontrollable rage, seized a spear from a guard and thrust it through the bosom of the man to whom he owed his life. As we see him thereupon sitting for three days in his tent, speechless with grief and remorse, refusing all food, and prevented only by his officers from taking his own life, we gather some slight impression of the terrible personal cost of Alexander's state policy.

Execution of Callisthenes

Similarly the demand that all should prostrate themselves and kiss his feet on entering his presence cost him the friendship of the historian Callisthenes. For, not long after, this friend was likewise found criminally guilty toward the king in connection with a conspiracy of the noble Macedonian pages who served Alexander. Trusted and admired as he had been by Alexander, Callisthenes too lost his life. He was a nephew of the king's old teacher, Aristotle, and thus the friendship between master and royal pupil was transformed into bitter enmity.

Death of Alexander (323 B.C.)

On his return to Babylon, Alexander was overcome with grief at the loss of his dearest friend Hephæstion, who had just died. He arranged for his dead friend one of the most magnificent funerals ever celebrated. Then, as he was preparing for a campaign to subjugate the Arabian peninsula and leave him free to carry out his great plans for the conquest of the western Mediterranean, Alexander himself fell sick, and after a few days died (323 B.C.). He was thirty-three years of age and had reigned thirteen years.

Section 38. The Heirs of Alexander's Empire

Consequences of Alexander's death

Alexander has been well termed "the Great." Few men of genius if any, and certainly none in so brief a career as his, have left so indelible a mark upon the course of human affairs. His death in the midst of his colossal designs was a fearful calamity, for it made impossible forever the unification of Hellas and of the world by the power of that gifted race which was now civilizing the world. Fabulous tales of Alexander's heroic career grew up on every hand, as men looked back upon the wondrous life of the world-hero. But such visions could not bring back the man himself, and there was none to take his place. Of his line there remained in Macedonia a demented half brother and, ere long, the son of Roxana, born in Asia after Alexander's death. Conflicts among the leaders at home swept away all Alexander's family, even including his mother.

Alexander's line disappears

The successors of Alexander; their three realms in Europe, Asia, and Africa

His generals in Babylonia found the plans of his great western campaign lying among his papers, but no man possessed the genius or the will to carry them out, nor could there be any unity among leaders feeling no authority above them which they would long recognize. These able Macedonian commanders were soon involved among themselves in a long struggle, which slumbered only to break out anew. After a generation of conflict we find Alexander's empire in three parts, corresponding to Europe, Asia, and Africa, with a Macedonian leader at the

head of each. In Europe, Macedonia is in the hands of Antigonus, who endeavors to maintain control of Greece; in Asia we find the territory of the former Persian Empire under the rule of Seleucus; while in Africa, Egypt, a clearly demarked region by itself, is held by Ptolemy.

Ptolemies in Egypt

But the boundaries between these states were not constant. Ptolemy found it impossible to maintain his power with native Egyptian troops. He was obliged constantly to draw upon Greece. He made his capital Alexandria the greatest port on the Mediterranean. With statesmanlike judgment he built up a fleet which gave him the mastery of the Mediterranean, with the control of Cyprus and the Phœnician ports, the Ægean and parts of southern Greece, and at times also of various points along the coasts of Asia Minor. Indeed, for a century (roughly the third century B.C.) the eastern Mediterranean was an Egyptian sea. To make his frontier toward Asia safer against his Asiatic rival he finally took possession of Palestine and southern Syria. Such an aggressive policy maintained the power of the Ptolemies for over a hundred years. But after 200 B.C. they allowed their navy to decay and their army to decline. Then Egypt became the cat's-paw of Rome.

Seleucids in Asia

In Asia the Seleucids[1] selected the northeast corner of the Mediterranean as their home, and here they endeavored to build up another Macedonia in the valley of the lower Orontes and the plain between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Here they founded the great city of Antioch as their capital. Without the hardy peasantry of the Macedonian homeland, from which to recruit their armies, the Seleucids found it almost impossible to hold together their vast empire of western Asia. Forced out of Asia Minor by the Romans, they lost also much of their eastern territory at the hands of the Parthians, kinsmen of the Persians, who energetically pushed their boundary westward even to the Euphrates. As a result there arose on the east of the Seleucid empire a new Persian state which not even the power

[1] The descendants of Seleucus.

of Rome was able to thrust back permanently from the Euphrates. Behind the Parthians other Indo-European tribes absorbed the easternmost dominions of the Seleucids to the frontiers of

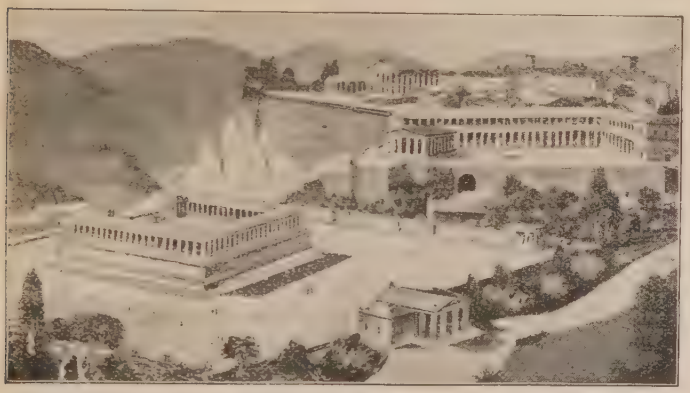


FIG. 101. RESTORATION OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF PERGAMUM, A HELLENISTIC CITY OF ASIA MINOR. (AFTER THIERSCH)

Pergamum, on the west coast of Asia Minor (see map, p. 80), became a flourishing city-kingdom in the third century B.C. under the successors of Alexander the Great (p. 229). The dwellings of the citizens were all lower down, in front of the group of buildings shown here. These public buildings stand on three terraces — lower, middle, and upper. The large *lower* terrace, where we see the groups of people, was the main market place, adorned with a vast square marble altar of Zeus, having colonnades on three sides, beneath which was a long sculptured band (frieze) of warring gods and giants (Fig. 112). The *middle* terrace (at the right) contained a temple of Athena, and the colonnades behind it adorned the famous library of Pergamum, where the stone bases of library shelves still survive. The *upper* terrace once contained the palace of the king; the temple now there (directly above the Athena temple) was built by the Roman Emperor Trajan in the first century A.D.

India. Thus the Seleucid empire shrank to the region between the Taurus and the Euphrates, commonly called Syria.

Antigonids in Macedonia and Greece

At the same time the Antigonids, the kings of Macedon, found it difficult to maintain their control of Greece, as the fleet of the Ptolemies pushed into the Ægean. In war after war the three

states of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt devoured one another. Mere playthings of these great powers, the unhappy Greek cities steadily declined, and commercial leadership passed eastward to Antioch and Alexandria (Fig. 102). At length, as the strength of Egypt declined, the other two plotted to divide her possessions between them, at the very time when they all should have combined to crush the growing power of Rome in the west, then in the throes of a deadly struggle with Carthage (pp. 258 ff.). The result of the failure of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt to combine against Rome was their submission to the rising city of the West. Rome gradually extended her power through the eastern Mediterranean, till, with the seizure of Egypt about a generation before Christ and about three hundred years after the death of Alexander, she was supreme from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules (p. 263).

Supremacy of Rome in the East after 200 B.C.

Section 39. The Civilization of the Hellenistic Age

The Hellenistic Age — supremacy of the Greek language

The three centuries following the death of Alexander we call the Hellenistic Age, meaning the period in which Greek civilization spread throughout the ancient world, and was itself much modified by the culture of the Orient. While Greek culture had greatly influenced the world outside Greece long before Alexander, his conquests placed Asia and Egypt in the hands of Macedonian rulers who were in civilization essentially Greek. Their language was the Greek spoken in Attica. The business of government was carried on in this language, and, together with Greek commerce and Greek literature, it made Greek the international language of the civilized world, the tongue of which every man of education must be master. Thus the strong Jewish community now living in Alexandria found it necessary to translate the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, in order that their educated men might read them. While the native peasants in the thickly populated portions of the East

might learn it but indifferently, Greek became, nevertheless, the daily language of the great cities and of an enormous world throughout the Mediterranean and the East (Fig. 115).

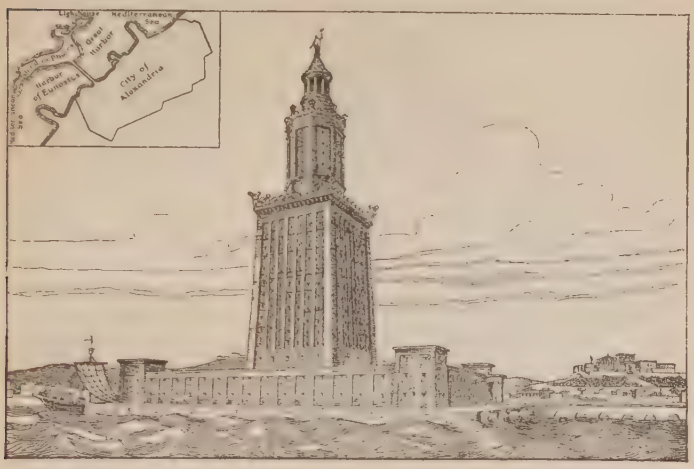


FIG. 102. THE LIGHTHOUSE OF THE HARBOR OF ALEXANDRIA IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. (AFTER THIERSCH)

The harbor of Alexandria (see map in corner above) was protected by an island called Pharos, which was connected with the city by a causeway of stone. On the island and bearing its name (Pharos) was built (after 300 B.C.) a vast stone lighthouse, some three hundred and seventy feet high (that is, over thirty stories, like those of a modern skyscraper). It shows how vast was the commerce and wealth of Alexandria only a generation after it was founded by Alexander the Great, when it became the New York or Liverpool of the ancient world, the greatest port on the Mediterranean (p. 232). The Pharos tower, the first of its kind, was influenced in design by oriental architecture, and in its turn it furnished the model for the earliest church spires, and also for the minarets of the Mohammedan mosques. It stood for about sixteen hundred years, the greatest lighthouse in the world, and did not fall until 1326 A.D.

Alexandria

In a large city like Alexandria, founded as its name suggests by Alexander, in the western corner of the Nile Delta, a Greek of the Hellenistic Age felt very much at home. He heard his own language in every street and market. Just as in the

homeland, he could go to the theater, could wander into the Odeon to listen to the music, or spend an agreeable hour in conversation with the idlers around the gymnasium. At the same time he could watch the practice in the manly sports and the use of weapons, in which the youth were still well exercised, or, if so inclined as the afternoon wore on, he could listen to a lecture by a philosopher or an address by a rhetorician in one of the courts or halls of the gymnasium — all in Greek. To the elementary branches, like reading and writing, which had been learned at the primary school, a young Greek might here add much. But if the youth wished to take up higher education seriously he might go to Athens, still a great center of learning and venerated by the whole ancient world for her noble history.

Education

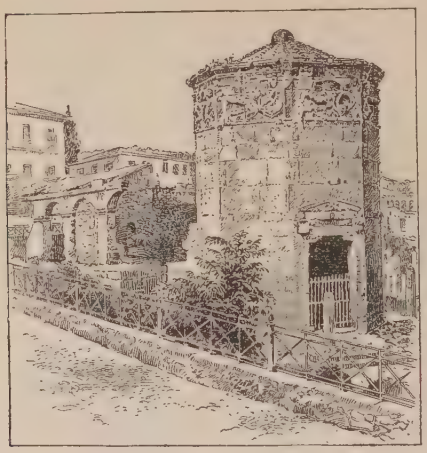


FIG. 103. THE TOWN CLOCK OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

This tower, commonly called the "Tower of the Winds," now stands among modern houses but once looked out on the Athenian market place (p. 186). The arches at the left support part of an ancient channel which supplied the water for the operation of a water clock in the tower. Such clocks were something like hourglasses, the flowing water filling a given measure in a given time, like the sand in the hourglass. This tower was built in the last century B.C., when Athens was under the control of Rome (p. 263)

The first university that was established by a government, however, was the institution which flourished in Alexandria under the patronage of the Ptolemies, known as the Museum, the home of the Muses. Here the greatest philosophers and

The University of Alexandria; progress of science and philosophy

scientists of the world carried on their studies and researches, combined with some lecturing and teaching. The first great library of the Greek world containing many thousand rolls was attached to this institution. Under the direction of a pupil of Aristotle, an astronomical observatory was erected, though as yet without telescopes, which were unknown to the ancient world. Thus supported and encouraged, science reached a level not again attained until modern times, two thousand years later. Greek thought, which culminated in the teaching of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, had now developed into four systems, or "schools of philosophy" as they are called,[1] which continued for a time to make some progress in original thought. Of all this the educated man of the time learned something, and two classes were now clearly distinguished — the educated and the uneducated.

Hellenistic cities

The real current of civilized life, as Aristotle taught, was in the cities. To be sure there were many differences between the cities of Egypt, Asia, Greece, and Macedonia in this age. In Egypt there were no free cities and no communities enjoying local self-government in the old Greek sense. On the other hand, the Antigonids granted to the cities of Hellas their old self-government in local affairs, and in Asia the numerous new cities founded by the Seleucids, as well as the older communities, were given the same liberal privileges. The result was the greatest stimulation of productive activity in all the avenues of life, especially commercial and intellectual life. The cities of Asia continued to produce great names in the history of thought and art[2] (Plate V, p. 224, and Figs. 99, 112), but such names were noticeably fewer in Egypt.

Life in the Hellenistic cities

Life in such cities was more comfortably furnished and equipped than ever before. There were roomy market places (Fig. 101), tree-shaded gardens around the temples, and stately

1 The four schools are: the Academy, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean.

2 A noble work of Hellenistic art will be found in the figure of the dying Gaul at the end of Chapter VIII (p. 214).

buildings to accommodate the public offices and departments of government. Along the sea and in the harbors were wide quays and far-reaching moles, where the traffic with distant lands passed in and out. At Alexandria a vast lighthouse tower (Fig. 102), one of the wonders of the world, shed its beams far across the sea to guide the mariner into the harbor.

Time and the calendar

A public clock, either a shadow dial, such as the well-to-do Egyptian had had in his house for over a thousand years, or a water clock of Greek invention (Fig. 103), stood in the market place and furnished all the good townspeople with the hour of the day. The calendar used by the government offices employed the inconvenient moon month of Macedonia, and that of the Greeks was no better. The Ptolemies or the priests under them attempted to improve the practical and convenient Egyptian calendar of twelve thirty-day months (see p. 23) by the insertion every four years of a leap year with an additional day, but the people could not be gotten out of the rut into which usage had fallen, and they continued to use the inconvenient moon month of the Greeks. There was no system for the numbering of the years anywhere but in Syria, where the Seleucids gave each year a number reckoned from the beginning of their sway. In Egypt at least, there was a postal service which carried all royal communications.

Greek papers still being dug up in Egypt

The soil of the Nile valley is still yielding to the modern excavator enormous quantities of office documents and household papers (Fig. 104) written chiefly in Greek, which disclose to us the way in which the business of government and of private citizens was then conducted. These masses of papers form one of the most interesting revelations of ancient life which modern discovery has furnished us. Indeed, the grave of a member of the Greek community in Memphis has preserved to us the oldest-surviving Greek book.

Commingling of Greek and oriental life and religion

It is in such papers that we discern how Greek and oriental life were interfused in these Hellenistic states. While this was true of the whole fabric of life, in art and literature, in customs,

government, and language, it was true especially of religion. National boundaries were gradually wiped out in such matters, and even before Alexander's day the Athenians had a ship engaged in carrying *Greeks* across the Mediterranean, that they might land at Cyrene, penetrate the Sahara, and consult the *Egyptian* Amon in his desert shrine (see map, p. 80, and Fig. 100). Men thus grew accustomed to strange gods and no longer looked askance at foreign usages in religion. It was only in such a world that Christianity was later able to pass as a foreign religion from land to land. There was now complete freedom of conscience — far more freedom, indeed, than the later Christian rulers of Europe granted their subjects. The teachings of

FIG. 104. A LETTER WRITTEN ON PAPYRUS, FOLDED, SEALED, AND ADDRESSED

Among the ruins of sun-dried brick houses of the Hellenistic Age in Egypt great quantities of such papers are now being found (p. 236). Their preservation is due to the rainless climate of Eygpt. See *Ancient Times*, pp. 215, 630 f., and 662

Socrates would no longer have caused his condemnation by his Athenian neighbors. From Babylonia the mysterious lore of the Chaldean astrologers was spreading widely through the Mediterranean. It was received and accepted in Egypt, and even Greek science did not escape its influence.

Intrusion of oriental influences in the Mediterranean

In this connection let us not misunderstand the meaning of the Greek repulse of Persia. Marathon and Salamis were of enormous importance in quickening the life of Greece and especially of Athens, and in arousing it to a development which resulted in the highest creations of Greek genius (see pp. 184–194). But it is a great mistake to suppose that Marathon and Salamis once and for all banished the influence of the Orient from the Mediterranean, as a huge irrigation dam keeps back a body of water. The great oriental populations in Asia and

Egypt continued to be a permanent force exerting a steady pressure upon the life of the Mediterranean world, in commerce, in forms of government, in customs and usages, in art, literature, and religion. This pressure resulted in many ways in the slow orientalization of the Mediterranean world. When Christianity issued from Palestine, therefore, as we shall see (see p. 300), it found itself but one among many other influences from the Orient which were passing westward. Thus while Greek civilization, with its language, its art, its literature, its theaters and gymnasiums, was Hellenizing the Orient, the Orient in the same way was exercising a powerful influence on the West and was orientalizing the Mediterranean world.

Disappearance of free citizenship

In this process let us not fail to notice that the Hellenic civilization was on the whole the loser. In the Hellenistic states of the East there was no such thing as national citizenship. Herein they resembled the earlier Orient. Where citizenship existed it was that of a city-state, and implied no rights of the city-citizen in the affairs of the great nation or empire of which the city-state was a part. It was as if a citizen of Chicago might vote at the election of a mayor of the city but had no right to vote at the election of a President of the United States. There was not even a name for the empire of the Seleucids, and their subjects, wherever they went, bore the names of their home cities or countries.[1] The conception of "native land" in the national sense was wanting, and patriotism did not exist. The citizen-soldier who defended his fatherland had long ago given way, even in Greece, to the professional soldier who came from abroad and fought for hire. The Greek no longer stood weapon in hand ready to defend his home and his community against every assault. The patriotic sense of responsibility for the welfare of the state which he loved, and the fine moral earnestness which this responsibility roused, no longer animated the Greek mind nor quickened it to the loftiest achievements in politics, in art, in architecture, in literature, and in original thought.

[1] It was as if the citizens of the United States were termed Bostonians, New Yorkers, Philadelphians, Chicagoans, etc.

A last attempt at unity among the Greeks

Indeed, in many Greek cities only a discouraged remnant of the citizens was left after the emigration to Asia. The cattle often browsed on the grass growing in the public square before the town hall in such cities. To be sure, Ætolia, of little fame in Greek history, stood forth in these declining days of Hellas and devised a form of federation for the union of the Greek states probably better than any before known. But alas, it was too late; no lasting union ensued.

Final decline of Greek civilization

The sumptuous buildings and the pretentious home of science in Alexandria (p. 234) represented little more than the high aims of the Macedonian kings of Egypt. They were no indication of widespread productive power still active in the Greek race *as a whole*. For when such state support failed, with its salaries and pensions to scientists and philosophers, the line of scientists failed too, and we see at once how largely science in the Hellenistic Age depended on the generosity of the Hellenistic kings, rather than on Greek interest in science as it had done of old. Add to this the extortions and robberies of the Roman tax gatherer under the last century of the Roman Republic (see p. 277); the criminal failure of Rome to protect her eastern dependencies of the Greek world from piracy and pillage (p. 277); the hopeless outlook for the liberties and the commercial prosperity of Hellas, and we have reasons enough for the tragic decline of Greek civilization which set in during the last two of the three centuries of the Hellenistic Age.

The end of Greek leadership

The Greeks had brought the world to a higher level of civilization than men had ever seen before, but they had not been able to unite and organize it. Not even their own Hellas was a unified nation. The world which the Greeks, as successors of the Orient, had *civilized* was now to be *organized* and *unified* by a much less gifted but more practical race, whose city on the Tiber was destined to become the mistress of an enduring world empire.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 35. Give an account of the northern Greeks and their kindred in the north. What was the policy of Philip of Macedon? Give an account of his career and its effects in Greece.

SECTION 36. Give an account of the youth of Alexander. Describe his early dealings with the Greeks. How did he desire to be regarded? Describe his conquest of Asia Minor. What was his great purpose thereafter? What did his father's counselors think of it?

What was the result? How was the danger from the Persian fleet removed? What conquest was gained at the same time? What move in Asia did Alexander now make? Describe the end of the Persian Empire. How long had it lasted (p. 108)? What extraordinary campaigns did Alexander then carry out? What results followed?

SECTION 37. Describe Alexander's efforts on behalf of science. What organization of the world he ruled did he undertake? What was to be the relation of Europe and Asia? What other conquests had he in mind?

What necessary position was he himself to occupy in the new world empire? Recount his visit to the oracle at the oasis of Siwa and its purpose. What were the Greek cities now asked to do? What personal consequences did Alexander suffer? What was the date of his death?

SECTION 38. What were the consequences of Alexander's death? What became of his royal line? What great divisions of his empire finally emerged? Who were the rulers of these? Give an account of each of these realms. What western influence succeeded them?

SECTION 39. What do we mean by the Hellenistic Age? What is the leading language of the Hellenistic Age? Describe Alexandria and its great institutions. What was the result for science? Describe the other cities. What practical conveniences for measuring time were now common? Tell something of the Greek papyri in Egypt.

Describe the commingling of Greek and oriental life. Did the Greek victories at Marathon and Salamis banish oriental influences from Greece and the Mediterranean? Did citizenship improve and develop? Did civilization continue to advance under these conditions? What other influences brought on the final decline of Greek civilization?

CHAPTER X

THE WESTERN WORLD AND ROME TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

Section 40. The Western Mediterranean World and Early Italy

The western Mediterranean world

The western Mediterranean forms a large detached basin, marked off from the eastern Mediterranean by the Italian peninsula and the Island of Sicily. There is no geographical name for this western basin, but with its islands and surrounding countries we may call it the western Mediterranean world. The most important land in the western Mediterranean world in early times was Italy.

Geography and climate of Italy

Italy[1] is not only four times as large as Greece, but, unlike Greece, it is not cut up by a tangle of mountains into winding valleys and tiny plains. The main chain of the Apennines, though crossing the peninsula obliquely in the north, is nearly parallel with the coasts and many of its outlying ridges are quite so. There are larger plains than we find anywhere in Greece; at the same time there is much more room for upland

[1] The area of Italy and its islands is about 110,000 square miles, roughly equaling the area of Nevada and not quite four times that of South Carolina.

pasturage and there are more forests. This last fact is due to the latitude of Italy; as a whole, it lies well north of Greece and hence enjoys more of the northern rains. There are far better opportunities for agriculture and livestock in Italy than in Greece, and a considerably larger population can be supported in the plains. At the same time the coast is not so cut up and indented as in Greece; there are fewer good harbors. Hence agriculture and livestock developed much earlier than trade. Italy slopes westward, in the main; it faces and belongs to the western Mediterranean world. Three great islands lie before the peninsula and tempt to expansion thither.

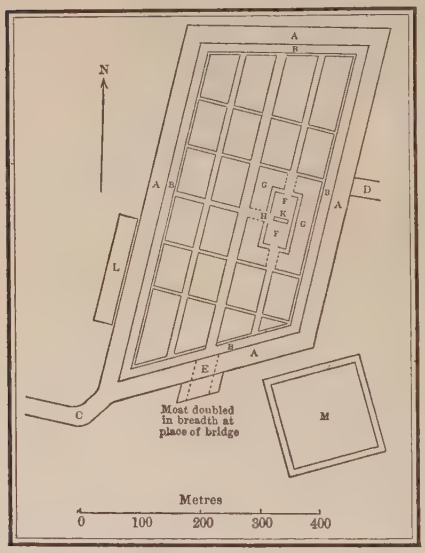


FIG. 105. GROUND PLAN OF A PREHISTORIC PILE VILLAGE IN ITALY

The settlement was surrounded by a moat (A) nearly one hundred feet across, filled with water from a connected river (C). Inside the moat was an earth wall (B) about fifty feet thick at the base. The village thus inclosed was about two thousand feet long; that is, four city blocks. The whole village, being in the marshes of the Po valley, was supported on piles, like the lake-villages (Fig. 5). The plan and arrangement of streets are exactly those of the Roman military camp later derived from it

Italy and the western Mediterranean world were further removed from the Orient than the Ægean. Living as they did on the threshold of the Orient, the peoples of the Ægean had responded quickly to the civilizing influences of the East; but while the Ægeans

and the Greeks were making the most wonderful progress, the peoples of the western Mediterranean world had lagged far behind and had made little advance in civilization since the days of the Swiss lake-dwellers.[1]

The western Mediterranean in prehistoric times

Some movements among these early westerners had occurred. The lake-dwellers of Switzerland (p. 11) had pushed southward

Earliest Italy

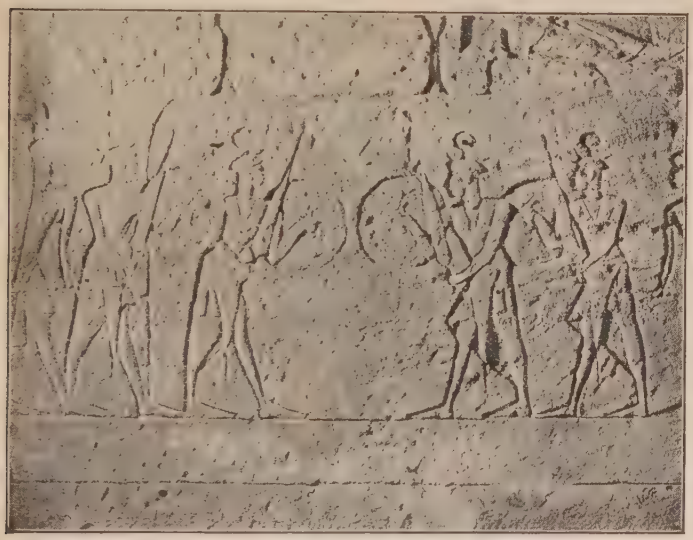


FIG. 106. PREHISTORIC SARDINIANS

Part of the bodyguard of Ramses II, king of Egypt, as shown on the wall of the temple of Abu Simbel (Fig. 30) in the thirteenth century B.C. Notice the heavy metal swords of these westerners, and see p. 53

through the Alpine passes and occupied the lakes of northern Italy. The remains of over a hundred of their pile-supported settlements (Fig. 105) have also been found under the soil of the Po valley, once a vast morass; and the city of Venice, still standing on piles, is a surviving example of their methods of building in this region. They had their influence

[1] The student should here reread pp. 10–16.

on the later Romans, whose military camp exactly reproduced the plan of the Po valley pile settlement (Fig. 105).

Prehistoric intercourse between Italy and the East

We do not know the race of these people of the pile villages, but in the Po Valley they entered the area of more direct influence from the eastern Mediterranean. Articles wrought by the craftsmen of Egypt (see cut, p. 16) and of Cnossus were then finding their way into these regions, and the westerners who received them were beginning to appear in the eastern Mediterranean. Some of these early westerners, the descendants of Stone Age Europe, who lived on the island of Sardinia, took service as hired soldiers in the army of the declining Egyptian Empire (p. 53), and we find them pictured on the Egyptian monuments, bearing huge bronze swords and heavy round shields (Fig. 106). They mark the earliest appearance of the men of the West in the arena of history yet to be dominated by them.

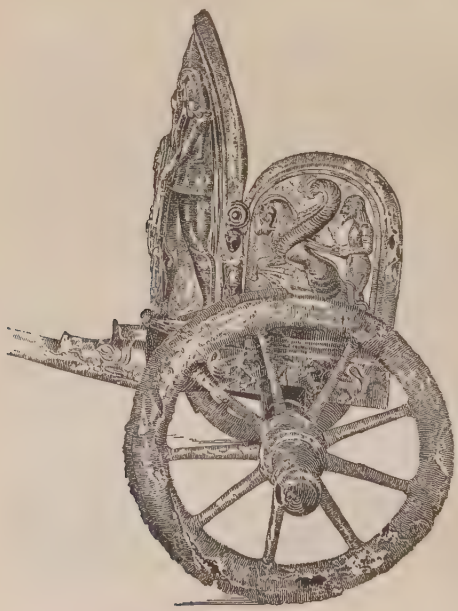
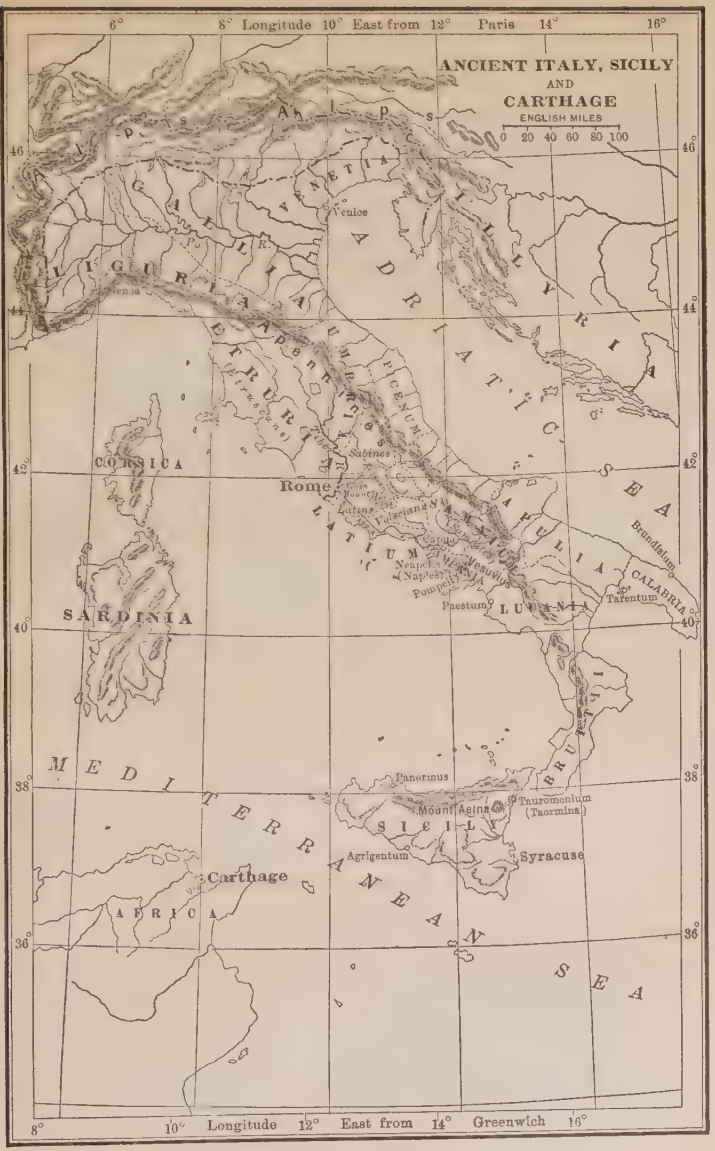


FIG. 107. ETRUSCAN CHARIOT OF BRONZE

This magnificent work illustrates the ability of the Etruscans in the art of bronze-working (p. 246). The chariot was found in an Etruscan tomb; it is of full size and now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum of New York City

The Etruscans

At the same time, the northern coast of Italy opposite Corsica was occupied by a powerful group of sea rovers like the



MAP OF ANCIENT ITALY

Sardinians. We call them Etruscans. They were a people whose origin is still uncertain; they probably had an earlier home in western Asia Minor,[1] and the Egyptian monuments tell us of their sea raids on the coast of the Delta as far back as the thirteenth century B.C., at a time when they were perhaps leaving Asia Minor in search of a new home in Italy. Here the Etruscans fast developed into the most civilized and powerful people north of the Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy (p. 147). Greek religion and arts found easy entrance among them; they mined copper and became masters in metal work (Fig. 107). Their utensils of bronze found a ready market even in Greece (p. 149). They learned to write with Greek letters, and they have left behind thousands of inscriptions, which unfortunately we cannot yet read. The west coast of Italy from the Bay of Naples almost to Genoa, including the inland country as far as the Apennines, was finally held by the Etruscans. They seemed destined to become the final lords of Italy, and they continued as an important people of the West far down into Roman history.

The Indo-European occupation of Italy

But the Etruscans were not the only immigrants who sought an early home in Italy. The tribes forming the western end of the Indo-European migration (pp. 86–91) early felt the attractiveness of this warm, sunny, and fertile peninsula:[2] Probably not long after the Greeks pushed into the Greek peninsula (p. 124), the western tribes of Indo-European blood had threaded the Alpine passes from the north and entered the beautiful Mediterranean world into which the Italian peninsula extends. They took possession of the main portion of the peninsula, where we call them "Italic" peoples. In Italy their dialects so differed among themselves that hardly a tribe of the Italic peoples was able to understand its kindred of the next group of tribes.

[1] They do not belong to the Indo-European line (Fig. 49).

[2] Whether the lake-dwellers represent a western migration of the Indo-European peoples or not we do not know.

Section 41. Earliest Rome

The tribes of "Latium"

On the south or east banks of the Tiber, which flows into the sea in the middle of the west coast of Italy (see map, p. 245), there was a group of Italic tribes known as the Latins. They occupied a plain (Fig. 108), less than thirty by forty miles,[1] that is smaller

Fig. 108. The Plain of Latium

We look eastward from Rome to the Sabine Mountains. The arches on the left are part of an immense aqueduct built by the Roman Emperor Claudius in the first century A.D. The whole waterway was over forty miles long. Much of it was subterranean, but for the last ten miles it was carried on these tall masonry arches, which conducted the water to the palace of the emperors in Rome

than many an American county. They called it "Latium," whence their own name, "Latins." Like all their Italic neighbors they lived scattered in small communities cultivating grain and maintaining flocks on the upland. Their land was not very fertile, and the battle for existence developed hardy and tenacious children of the soil. They had little to do with their neighbors.

[1] Latium probably contained something over seven hundred square miles.

Once a year, however, they went up to the Alban Mount (Fig. 109), where all the Latin tribes united in a feast of their chief god, Jupiter, whose rude mud-brick sanctuary was on the Mount.

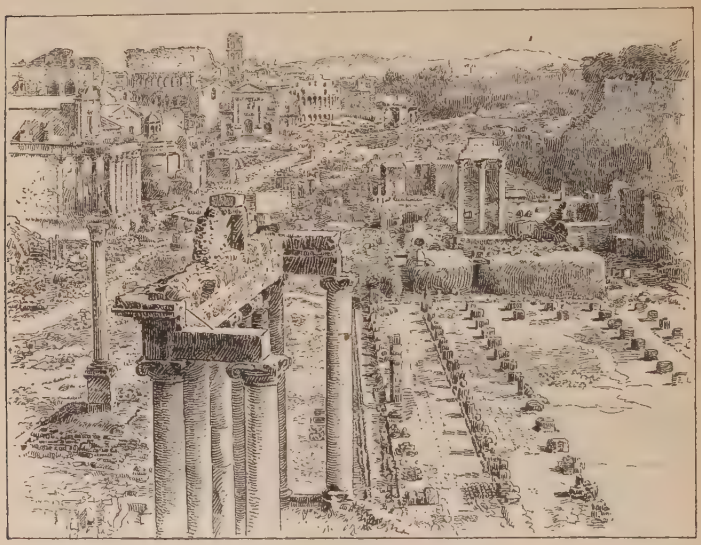


FIG. 109. RUINS OF THE ROMAN FORUM

The scene is taken from the Capitol Hill (see plan, p. 250) looking southeastward along the Forum to the distant Alban Mount on the horizon (p. 248). The steep elevation at the right is the Palatine Hill, where the palace of the Roman emperors stood. The long lines of bases of columns on the right belonged to a basilica built by Julius Cæsar (Fig. 113); on the left of these was the open market place of the Forum (p. 249); the columns in the foreground belong to the Temple of Saturn (Fig. 113), which was used as a treasury by the Roman government

Sometimes, too, they were forced to unite with the other communities to defend themselves against their neighbors, especially the Samnites, a powerful group of mountain tribes in the south.

Foundation of Rome

It was at such times that the peasant was obliged to make the day's journey up to the town to purchase weapons for his son, when he reached fighting age. These — the spear, the short

sword, and the shield — he has adopted from the Samnites. His fathers could find them in the market made only of bronze, but now they were to be had of iron, and a bronze sword was a rarity. The market was at a ford in the Tiber just above the coast marshes, which extend some ten or twelve miles inland from its mouth. At this ford the Etruscan merchants from the north side crossed over with their wares to find a market among the Latin peasants. The traffic resulted in a settlement on a hill known as the Palatine[1] (Fig. 109). The settlement had long been there and a line of Etruscan nobles had once succeeded in gaining control of the place as its kings. Several other hills close by, seven of them in all, bore straggling settlements which gradually merged into a considerable city, indeed the largest of middle Italy. It was called Rome. The peasant could recall the tradition which told how the townsmen, as they increased in wealth and power, rose against their Etruscan lords and expelled them.

Etruscan kings of Rome

As he reaches the market place, the "forum" (Fig. 109, and plan, p. 250), which lies beside the Palatine and another hill known as the Capitol, he looks down the valley toward the river. There lies a group of ships from the great Mediterranean world outside, of which the peasant knows so little. Some of them are from the Greek cities of the south (cut, p. 166) and some from the Etruscan ports along the northern coast. There are no Roman ships among them. The peasant goes down to the dock. Here he finds a Roman mechanic building a ship constructed exactly like the Greek and Etruscan ships beside it.

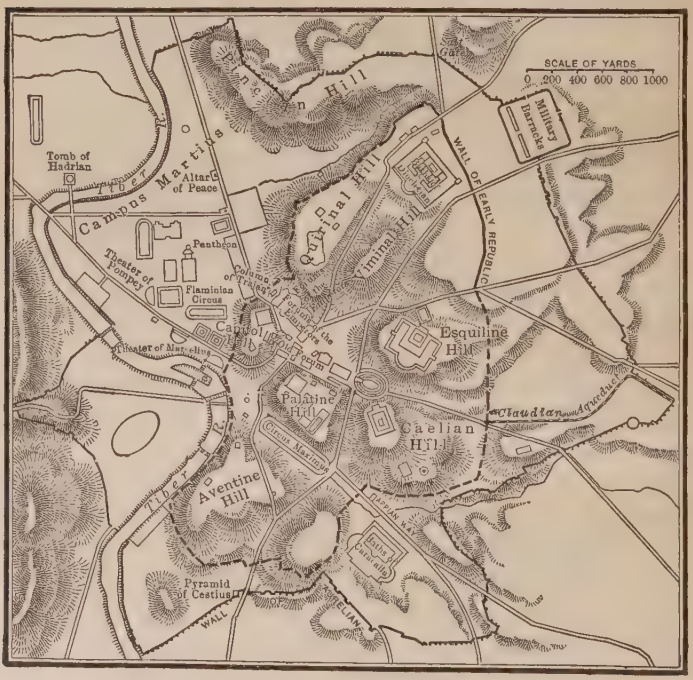
Greek ships and Greek influences

The Greek merchants bring written invoices and bills. The Romans, entirely unable to read them at first, are slowly

Greek influences — the alphabet

[1] The traditional date for the foundation of Rome — namely, the middle of the eighth century B.C. (often 753 B.C.) — has come to us from the ancient Roman historians and is worthless. There was a settlement of men at this important place on the Tiber as early as the Late Stone Age. In later times the Roman folk told fabulous tales about the foundation of the city by two brothers, Romulus and Remus, and these tales were long accepted as narratives of fact, though it is evident that they are purely fanciful. The headpiece of this chapter (p. 241) shows the two brothers as infants suckled by a wolf, according to the tradition.

learning to spell them out, and thus finally to recognize a Greek word here and there. Ere long they were scribbling memoranda of their own transactions in these Greek letters, which in this way became likewise the Roman alphabet, slightly changed of course to suit the Latin language used in Rome. It is this alphabet which descended from the Orient through Rome to *us*.



MAP OF ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS

Greek influences — coinage, weights and measures, language

The Greek merchant on the dock has a sack full of copper coins and a smaller purse filled with silver ones. These too the Roman tradesman learns to use, against the day when his own city shall begin to coin them. He is obliged to accept also the measures of bulk and of length with which the Greek measures out to him the things he buys. The peasant hears the merchants

on the dock speaking Greek. He too learns the Greek words for the clothing offered for sale, for household utensils and pottery and other things connected with traffic. These words become part of the daily fund of Roman speech.

Greek influences — religion

The Latin peasant looks on with wonderment at all this world of civilized life of which he knows so little — a world in which these clever Greeks seem so much at home. Indeed, they bring in things which cannot be weighed and measured like produce, from a realm of which the Roman is but beginning to catch fleeting glimpses. For the peasant hears of strange gods of the Greeks, and he is told that they are the counterparts or the originals of his own gods. For him there is a god over each realm in nature and each field of human life: Jupiter is the great sky-god and king of all the gods; Mars, the patron of all warriors; Venus, the queen of love; Vesta presides over the household life, with its hearth fire surviving from the nomad days of the fathers on the Asiatic steppe a thousand years before (p. 91); Ceres is the goddess who maintains the fruitfulness of the earth, and especially the grain fields (compare English "cereal"); and Mercury is the messenger of the gods who protects intercourse and *merch*andising, as his name shows. The streets are full of stories which the townsmen have learned from the Greeks, regarding the heroic adventures of these divinities when they were on earth. The peasant learns that Venus is the Greek Aphrodite, Mercury is the Greek Hermes, while Ceres is the Greek Demeter, and so on.

Oracles

The oracles delivered by the Greek Sibyl, the prophetess of Apollo of Delphi (Fig. 82), are deeply reverenced in Italy; gathered in the Sibylline Books, they are regarded by the Roman townsmen as mysterious revelations of the future. There are also other means of piercing the veil of the future, for the townsmen tell the peasant how the Etruscans are able to discover in the liver or the entrails of a sheep killed for sacrifice hints and signs of the outcome of the next war; but the peasant does not know as we do that this art was received by the Etruscans

from the Babylonians by way of Asia Minor, whence the Etruscans have brought it to the Romans.

Mechanical character of Roman religion

An art like this appealed to the rather coldly calculating mind of the Roman. To such a mind, lacking a warm and vivid imagination, the Greek myths opened a new world. To such a mind the gods required only the fulfillment of all formal ceremonies, and if these were carried out with legal exactness, all would be well. As the Roman looked toward his gods he felt no doubts or problems, like those which troubled the spirit of Euripides (p. 190). The Roman saw only a list of mechanical duties easily fulfilled. Hence he was fitted for great achievement in political and legal organization, but not for new and original developments in religion, art, literature, or even science.

The rise of the Roman republic

When the city on the Tiber had rid itself of its Etruscan kings (p. 249) it was ruled by a body of nobles called "patricians." It began a political development much like that which we have met in the Greek cities. By the middle of the fifth century B.C. the people had secured protection from the whim of the judge by a written code of laws, engraved on twelve tables of bronze. Public affairs were largely controlled by a council of old men known as the Senate (a word connected with *senex*, meaning "an old man"). At the head of the government were two elective magistrates of the same powers, called "consuls." The peasantry, or "multitude" (*plebs*, compare "plebeian"), of the district immediately surrounding the city made up an assembly of the people, which struggled for greater power in government.

The struggle between the people and the patricians of Rome

It was a struggle for the rights of the lower classes like that which we have seen in Egypt (p. 42), in Palestine (p. 105), and in Greece (p. 132). In Greece and Rome, however, as contrasted with the Orient, there was the important difference that the struggle resulted not in monarchy, but in a republican form of government, giving the people a share in its control. In Rome the peasant's demand for a vote and voice in government was heeded. He finally gained the right to election as

consul (366 B.C.) and to representation in the Senate. But here the fine political insight of the Roman demonstrates his superiority to the Greek in such matters.

The leadership held by the Senate

The patricians, or aristocrats, continued to hold the leadership, and they contrived so to control the power of the popular assembly as not to expose public affairs to the passing humors of a changeable city multitude like that of Athens. This stable leadership of a group of seasoned councilors in the Roman Senate was the chief reason for the success of Roman government, and saved the Romans from the fate of Athens after the death of Pericles (p. 197). Rome was thus an "*aristocratic* republic" — more so than Athens.

Tribunes

At the same time the people were not without protection from injustice at the hands of the aristocrats. They gained the right to elect *tribunes* as their magistrates, who enjoyed great power to shield any citizen from oppression by the State. One of the tribunes named Licinius secured the passage of a law intended to relieve the peasantry from financial oppression by large landholders, and limiting the amount of land which could be held by a rich man.[1] In times of great danger to the State, it was possible to appoint a "Dictator" with absolute power to rule as the crisis might require. The presence of the Greek cities in the south had exerted a great influence in leading the Romans to a *city* form of state, but the native genius of the Roman for government saved him from the political mistakes of the Greeks. Similarly the exaction of military service from every landholding peasant and the census[2] arrangements suggest Greek customs. These developments in government were a slow process occupying centuries. Meantime the Roman republic was continually expanding and to this steady growth we must now turn our attention.

Licinian laws

"Dictator"

[1] Such abuses had become a great evil, as in Greece (p. 153). The date of the Licinian law is uncertain, though commonly placed in 367 B.C. See, however, p. 263, for the later conditions calling for such laws.

[2] These were controlled by "censors," a word which has descended to us from the Romans like so many other of our terms of government.

Section 42. The Expansion of the Roman Republic

The Latin league under Rome

The motive power which brought about the expansion of Rome beyond the limits of the city was largely the necessity of defense against the intrusion of neighboring tribes living outside Latium, especially the Samnites and their kinsmen, who endeavored to seize the territory of the Latin tribes. The Latins found the leadership and the protection of the city invaluable under such circumstances, and a permanent league naturally developed uniting the tribes of Latium under the leadership of the city of Rome. The obligation to bear arms, if they owned land, gave to the peasants of Latium the right to demand citizenship, and the men of all the straggling Latin communities, over thirty in number, were at length received as Roman citizens. It was herein that the Roman Senate displayed a sagacity which cannot be too much admired. While the Greek city always jealously guarded its citizenship and would not grant it to any one born outside its borders, the Roman Senate conferred citizenship as a means of expansion and increased power.

Agricultural colonization and expansion the Roman policy

As their intruding neighbors, like the Samnites or the Volscians, were thrust back and new territory was thus gained, the Romans planted colonies of citizens in the new lands conquered, or ultimately granted citizenship to the absorbed population. Roman peasants, obligated to bear Roman arms and having a voice in government, thus pushed out into the expanding borders of Roman territory. This policy of *agricultural* expansion steadily and consistently followed by the Senate finally made Rome mistress of Italy. It was a policy which knit together into an invincible structure of government the city and the outlying communities of its weapon-bearing peasants. It gave to Rome an ever increasing body of citizen-soldiers, greater at last than any other state could muster, in the whole ancient world. Curiously enough this nation which was about to include the territory of all Italy remained a city-state, adding distant regions of Italy as if they were new wards of the

city. But the citizens of these distant wards lost their votes rather than take the trouble to go up to the city to vote.

Gallic and Samnite wars; Rome gains supremacy in Italy

While this steady expansion of Rome was going on, a tremendous migration of Gauls inundated southern Europe. The Gauls were a vast group of Indo-European tribes extending across what is now France, from the English Channel to the Po valley in Italy. Their eastern tribes entered the Balkan Peninsula and even pushed into Asia Minor.[1] At one time they seemed about to overwhelm the nations on the north of the Mediterranean, as the Germans later did (p. 305). These invasions by the Gauls swept over the city of Rome after 400 B.C. and almost submerged it. Nevertheless the hardy city survived.

The rivalry with the Samnites continued. These enemies in the south might win more than one battle, but they could not break down the stability of the State which the sagacious Roman Senate had welded together. Rival peoples, like the Samnites, lacked such a system, and furthermore they lacked such a city as Rome to serve as a nucleus and center of union. By 300 B.C. the lands absorbed by the Romans had quite enveloped the Samnites on east and west, and in the north likewise had carried the Roman boundaries far into Etruscan territory and well up the Tiber. Hence not even the combined assaults of Etruscan, Samnite, and Gaul could exhaust the resources of the Roman State. When the Roman legions met the Gauls at Sentinum and overwhelmingly defeated them (295 B.C.), they won the supremacy of Italy for the city on the Tiber. Henceforth, unchallenged, Roman dominion in Italy was a matter of a short time. While the eastern empire of Alexander the Great was being cut up and parceled out by his Macedonian generals (p. 229), Italy was undergoing a process of stable consolidation which brought even the Greek cities in the south of the peninsula (see cut, p. 166) under Roman rule (272 B.C.).

1 The figure of the dying Gaul (see end of Chapter VIII, p. 214), once set up in Pergamum in Asia Minor (Fig. 101), represents one of the Gauls who invaded Asia Minor.

Growth and commercial expansion of Rome

Meantime the city itself had greatly grown. The seven hills had long before been covered with buildings, and the capture of the town by the Gauls had taught the Romans to surround the place with a wall. While the wall was of massive stone, the buildings within were chiefly of wood and sun-baked brick. They were simple and unpretentious, and there was hardly a building of monumental architecture in the city. A fine paved road, leading southward to the city of Capua in the region of Naples (see map, p. 245), was the first of the famous Roman military roads, and it was called the Via Appia, after the consul Appius Claudius.

Earliest Roman coinage

Traffic with the Greek ships at the docks at length forced the Romans to begin the issue of copper coins, — "aes" they called them, — and in their bills the values of goods were given in copper coins; hence our word "*es*timate" (Roman "*aes*timare"). But transactions soon grew too large for such small copper change, and the government was obliged to begin the coinage of silver, with Attic weights as a basis of the different-sized coins. Money began to be a power in the city.

Carthaginian competition

Heretofore the interests of the farmer had been supreme, and his settlement on conquered land had dictated the government's policy of expansion. The farmer looked no further than the shores of Italy. But the transactions of the Roman merchant reached out beyond those shores, especially to Sicily and the south. Here he was hampered by competition from Carthage. While his foreign interests were still small he had been willing that the Senate should make a commercial treaty with Carthage, agreeing that Rome would not intrude in Sicily, provided that Carthage on her part would keep aloof from Italy. Now, however, the Roman merchant chafed under such restrictions; the more so because the Greeks of Sicily and Italy (Fig. 74 and cut, p. 166) had as usual failed to unite,[1] and had

Such competition aided by the failure of western Greeks to unite

[1] Such a union seemed at one time about to take place under King Pyrrhus of Epirus (on the Greek mainland), as a result of his invasion of these regions (280 B.C.). Rome herself regarded him as dangerous to her power in Italy,

thus left Sicily more than ever open to Carthaginian control. The resulting supremacy of the Carthaginian merchants in Sicily was a source of aggravation to the merchants of Rome.

Carthage

Carthage[1] was governed by an aristocracy of wealthy merchants. The mercantile instinct, which still makes their race a line of merchant princes at the present day, was strong in the blood of the Semitic Carthaginians. In their veins flowed the blood of those hardy desert mariners of Arabia, the Semitic caravaneers (p. 59) who had made the market places of Babylon the center of ancient eastern trade two thousand years before Rome ever owned a ship (p. 67). The fleets of their Phœnician ancestors had coursed the Mediterranean in the days when the Stone Age barbarians of Italy were eagerly looking for the merchant of the East and his metal implements (p. 244). Now Rome had gained the supremacy in Italy only to find that the merchant princes of Carthage had made the western Mediterranean a Carthaginian sea. They ruled the northern coast of Africa from the frontiers of the Greek city of Cyrene westward to the Atlantic. They controlled southern Spain, they had absorbed the islands of the west, large and small, including Sardinia and Corsica, and only the Greek cities of Sicily had prevented them from appropriating the whole of this island long ago. Thus they formed the extreme left or western wing of the great Semitic line (Fig. 49).[2] We are now to witness the continuation of the old struggle of Semite and Indo-European, which has reached its final phase on the Semitic left wing, where the areas of Roman and Carthaginian trade have overlapped and brought on the contest.

fought him, and, although at first defeated, finally forced him to retire to Epirus again. This new failure of the southern Greeks to unite was of course another example of that local independence of which we have seen so much in Hellas.

[1] The student should here reread pp. 59–60, 67, 137–139.

[2] We have followed Europe and Asia in a long struggle for the possession of the eastern Mediterranean; we now behold Europe and Asia, as represented by Carthage, again facing each other, but this time across the western Mediterranean, for the control of which they are fighting.

Section 43. The Carthaginian Wars

The Sicilian war with Carthage

The Senate needed little persuasion from the wealthy merchants of Rome to intervene in Sicilian affairs, as the Greeks completely lost control in Sicily. The inevitable war[1] saw the Roman legions steadily thrusting back the Carthaginian frontier in Sicily by 265 B.C. Carthage, as a wealthy commercial syndicate, having no agricultural population to furnish its soldiers, was forced to engage its troops for hire from abroad. Such troops were no match for the Roman legions, and the Carthaginians steadily lost ground.

The Romans build a war fleet

One great advantage, however, enabled them to defend themselves in a last stronghold at the western end of Sicily. They were masters of the sea, while Rome had no war fleet. The Senate, like Themistocles in Athens (p. 170), at length perceived the difficulty. The forests of Italy furnished abundant raw material, and Roman builders were soon able to master the art of building warships. Gradually the new Roman fleet gained experience, and the outcome was the complete destruction of Carthaginian sea power. After twenty-four years of fighting Carthage was forced to make peace, leaving Rome in undisturbed possession of all Sicily (241 B.C.). For the first time Rome held territory outside of Italy, an epoch-making step from which she was never able to draw back — a step which has been compared with the act of the United States in taking Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The Sicilian war ends with the defeat of Carthage (241 B.C.)

Rome defeats the Gauls, gains the Po valley, and rules all Italy

Peace between two such rivals could only be temporary, for the constant expansion of Roman power was a daily menace to Carthage. She looked in vain for some adversary who might humble her proud rival on the Tiber. But she was forced to see the Roman arms again triumphant as they crushed the Gauls of northern Italy, who had taken possession of the valley of the Po. Thenceforth the entire Italian peninsula to the foot

[1] Commonly called the "First Punic War." "Punic" is a Latin form of the word "Phœnician," to which race the Carthaginians belonged.

of the Alps was under Roman sovereignty. There were, to be sure, many cities bound to Rome only by treaty, whose citizens were not at first received into Roman citizenship. But in spite of the fact that there was no uniform language common to the Roman citizens and the allies who made up the population of the peninsula, a national feeling arose and Italy as a whole was slowly becoming a nation.

Rome seizes Sardinia; Carthaginian advance in Spain

In defiance of the treaty of peace with Carthage, Rome had no hesitation in seizing the island of Sardinia, a Carthaginian possession. A counter move by Carthage was necessary. While the Roman war with the Gauls was going on, the Carthaginians therefore took advantage of the situation to seize additional territory in southern Spain. Here they acquired silver mines of immense value, and at the same time the native population of Spain furnished excellent troops for the Carthaginian army. Thus they were equipped with both money and men for another war. Nevertheless, the Carthaginian merchants had not forgotten their losses in the Sicilian war and had no desire to repeat the experience.

Rome confronts Carthage in Spain; the rise of Hannibal

The Roman Senate, however, could not allow all Spain to be acquired by Carthage. They ordered a few legions to cross the Pyrenees and to seize northern Spain for Rome as far as the Ebro River. Here a young Carthaginian named Hannibal, whose father had been the soul of the Carthaginian defense of Sicily, now organized a formidable army. He intentionally became involved in trouble with the Romans on the Spanish frontier and thus forced the peace party at home into war.[1] He was but twenty-four years of age when he began his Spanish operations, and at twenty-seven he was beginning a plan of campaign of such boldness and genius that he took the Romans completely by surprise.

The war with Hannibal; he invades Italy

The Senate had determined to carry the war into Africa to the very walls of Carthage, when in the autumn of 218 B.C. Hannibal suddenly appeared with his army issuing from the

[1] Commonly called the "Second Punic War."

passes on the Italian slopes of the Alps and taking possession of the valley of the Po. This unexpected march through southern France, over the Alps and into Italy, at once threw Rome on the defensive. The army, which they had hurriedly gotten together to meet Hannibal beyond the Alps, had been cleverly evaded by that general, and the Roman force went on into Spain. Then this young commander of twenty-eight, showing himself a master of military science (like Napoleon, who at about the same age won his first Italian victories in this very region), at once advanced with his Spanish veterans and many Gauls and defeated one Roman army after another.

Hannibal's early victories

Pushing far southward into the old territory of the Greek cities of Italy, Hannibal succeeded in detaching many of the southern cities from their alliance with Rome, and finally all Sicily went over to his cause. But the nucleus of the states in central Italy, which Rome had gathered about her and linked to herself by bonds of citizenship, could not be detached. They stood fast. Meantime Carthage was unable to send reënforcements to its army in Italy, for the Romans commanded the sea with their fleet. After the first defeats the Senate was more careful in picking its commanders, and these new men were more successful. Among them it was now especially Fabius, who made himself famous by a policy of defensive waiting and avoiding battle with the clever Hannibal, foreseeing that the Carthaginian forces, if not reënforced from home, must slowly melt away.

Stability of Rome

Hannibal seeks Macedonian aid; the East fails to intervene

Hannibal sent to Macedonia urging alliance and seeking aid, and there was a futile effort to respond. Had the descendants of the Macedonian rulers who divided Alexander's empire in the East now discerned the character of this battle of giants which was going on in Italy, they might have changed the history of the world. For this struggle of the Romans with Hannibal was the decisive turning point in the history of the ancient world. Roman victory in this contest meant the supremacy of Rome not only in the western Mediterranean but in the whole

Mediterranean world.[1] Meantime the Roman forces besieged and slowly recovered the unfaithful cities one by one, until Sicily was in their hands again.

Western aid fails to reach Hannibal

Hannibal's brother endeavors to push in with reënforcements from Spain, where he has been obliged to leave the Romans in possession. But he is intercepted, defeated, and slain. Finally, when Hannibal has been thirteen years in Italy, the Senate organizes an expedition against Carthage itself. Not even the recall of Hannibal to Carthage can now halt the victorious Romans, and in 202 B.C. the merchant princes of Carthage are compelled to accept an ignominious peace. Their power is forever broken, and they are never again a source of anxiety to the Roman Senate. Rome thus becomes mistress of the western Mediterranean, and her power so far exceeds that of all other states that the rivalry between nations, which makes up so large a part of the career of the ancient world, is soon to cease, because there is no one who dares to challenge the power of Rome.

Roman victory over Hannibal (202 B.C.)

The destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.)

For over fifty years more the merchants of Carthage were permitted to traffic in the western Mediterranean, and then the iron hand of Rome was laid upon the doomed city for the last time. It was completely destroyed, and the only formidable rival of Rome in the West disappeared (146 B.C.).[2]

Section 44. World Dominion and Civil War

Introduction of Greek literature and civilization into Rome

The third century B.C., which gave to Rome the naval and military supremacy in the Mediterranean, nevertheless saw Rome herself conquered by Greek civilization. Greek slaves and captives of war from the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily, now ruled by Rome, begin to be common in Roman households. Greek

1 The Egyptian navy of the Ptolemies (p. 230), after a century of supremacy in the Mediterranean, was at this time on the decline. The armies of the Hellenistic kings also were declining. They were no match for those of Rome.

2 As the result of a three years' war, commonly called the "Third Punic War." The Semitic *left* wing was thus annihilated by the western end of the Indo-European line (Fig. 49), and Europe again triumphed over Asia.

merchants multiply in the Roman Forum and along the river front. Amid the hum of voices on street or in market the sound of Greek becomes more and more familiar to Roman ears. Here and there a household possesses a Greek slave of education, and the parents are glad to have their children follow him about the house, picking up verses from Homer, or sit at his elbow learning to read.

Andronicus and his translations

Among the Greek slaves from southern Italy in Rome at this time is a young man named Andronicus. Just after the Sicilian war with Carthage he is given his liberty by his lord, and seeing the interest of the Romans in Greek literature, he translates the Homeric Odyssey (p. 142) into Latin as a school book for Roman children. For their elders he likewise renders into Latin the classic tragedies which we have seen in Athens (p. 190), and also a number of Attic comedies (p. 204). These the Romans attend with great delight as they are presented on the stage at the various feasts. Thus the materials and the forms of Greek literature enter Roman life.

Greek foundations of Latin literature and art

To be sure, the Latins, like all peasant peoples, have had their folk songs and their simple forms of verse, but these natural products of the soil of Latium now disappear as the men of Latin speech feel the influence of an already highly finished literature. Latin literature, therefore, did not develop along its own lines from native beginnings, as did Greek literature, but it grew up on the basis of a great inheritance from abroad. Indeed, we now see, as the poet Horace said, that Rome, the conqueror, was being conquered by the civilization of the Greeks, into whose world Roman power was now pushing out. For books, music, works of art, architecture, and all those things which belong to the more refined and the higher side of life, the Roman was at first dependent entirely upon the Greek. What the Romans were furnishing of their own was a more stable and powerful organization than any devised by the Greeks.

These triumphs of Greek civilization in Rome were being achieved at the very time when Roman political and military

power was laying a heavy hand on the old Greek cities and the entire Hellenistic world of the eastern Mediterranean. Immediately after the close of the war with Hannibal the Senate determined to punish Macedonia for its attempt to support Hannibal (p. 260). At last the long-irresistible phalanx of the Greeks was confronted by the Roman legion. Before the victorious legion Macedonia and Greece fell under Roman control, though the Roman Senate proclaimed the Greek cities free. The object of Rome was not the conquest of the East, but such a control of the eastern states as would prevent the rise of a great power dangerous to Rome.

Rome advances into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia

Such a control, however, unavoidably developed into more, and finally became Roman sovereignty. When the Seleucids (p. 230) interfered in Greek affairs a Roman army marched for the first time into Asia, and the Seleucid army received a crushing defeat. The last great power that confronted Rome was thus permanently crippled, and, although they did not yet take possession of it all, the Romans were masters of the civilized world (190 B.C.). A generation later the helpless Greeks were given a vivid example of what revolt would bring upon them, as they beheld the Roman destruction of Corinth in the same year (146 B.C.) which saw the annihilation of Carthage.

The Rome which thus gained the dominion of the world had hitherto been a republic of farmers, led by a body of aristocrats making up the majority of the Roman Senate. The long wars and the resulting vast conquests inevitably produced great changes as the wealth of the conquered states flowed into the Roman treasury, and Roman officials were enriched at the expense of the provinces. In these changes the farmer was the sufferer. He had kept his post in the legion for years, in Spain, in Africa, in Macedonia, or in Italy facing Hannibal. There had been no one to work his lands in his absence. When he returned he found that his neighbors all around him had disappeared, and their lands had been bought up by the wealthy men of Rome, who had combined them into huge estates.

Rise of large estates and great proprietors

Increase of slavery; decay of the agricultural class

These lands were now being worked by slaves, the captives, of whom the Romans had taken great numbers in their wars. Such captives of war were usually sold into slavery. Pirates now in control of the eastern Mediterranean also brought in multitudes of captives, whom they sold as slaves to wealthy buyers. As a result great hosts of such slaves were working the lands of Italy, and a single large landholder might possess thousands of them. The farmer is unable to compete with slave labor; he falls into debt, loses his scanty lands, and goes up to the city. On the way thither he finds all Italy stripped of its hardy farmers by the wars, and their lands in the possession of Roman capitalists, who have equipped them with foreign slaves. He finds the city filled with a great multitude of former citizens, now penniless like himself, who have lost their citizenship with their property. All Italy is thus seething with discontent.

Increase of poverty and the landless class

What matters it to the landless peasant who has fought the battles of Rome and won her dominion over the whole civilized world — what matters it to him that the city is now being adorned with splendid public buildings, such as have never been seen in the West before, outside of the Greek cities? He sees the gardens and villas of the rich filled with sculpture from the cities of Hellas and Asia; he sees a network of new military roads spreading in all directions from the city; he finds the houses of the Roman nobles in the city filled with foreign slaves; he hears his old commanders speaking Greek and sees them reading Greek books; he knows that they send their sons to Athens to receive a Greek education.

Splendor and growing culture of Rome

Growing hostility between Senate and people

He knows, moreover, that while these Roman lords are thus taking possession of the best things in Greek life, they are likewise appropriating the wealth of all this great world, where Greek culture is everywhere. This wealth and the leadership of the vast dominions that contribute it, have made the Roman Senate powerful beyond the uttermost dreams of the fathers of old, and in this new power and wealth the Roman multitude have no share. What is worse they have lost their own property

at home. To be sure many of them have no higher desire than the opportunity of plundering the provinces themselves, but the landless condition of Rome's citizen-soldiers is destroying the very foundation of Roman power.

Reforms of the Gracchi and civil war

Two men of the noble class, Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Gaius, patriots with the welfare of the State in view, now (133–122 B.C.) endeavored to better the situation by laws which would redistribute the lands among the citizens and weaken the power of the selfish aristocrats in the Senate. Both men lost their lives in the struggle. The proud and powerful Senate was no longer willing to make concessions to the people as of old. A revolution began, with intermittent civil war which lasted for a century (ending 31 B.C.) (p. 273). As it went on, and the legions were turned against each other, some of the greatest battles in the history of the ancient world were fought between Roman armies. At the same time multitudes of slaves seized arms and terrorized southern Italy and Sicily for years.

Roman institutions yield to military power

As we watch the further course of this century of civil war, we see that the statesman in the Senate more than once found himself confronted by the general from the field backed by Roman legions. Such a commander with a loyal army behind him could force Rome to elect him dictator. He might not abolish the institutions and the outward forms of the republic, but he controlled the State like an absolute monarch. He crushed his enemies, he appropriated their property, and the streets of the city were stained with the blood of her own citizens. Military power was undermining Roman institutions.

Marius and Sulla

Such were the methods of Marius and Sulla — Marius on behalf of the people and redistribution of lands; Sulla in defense of the Senate and the wealthy of Rome (81–79 B.C.). Sulla and the Senate triumphed, though Rome was compelled to grant citizenship to the rebellious Italian cities. At Sulla's death the struggle broke out anew. More than one man plotted for the complete overthrow of the Republic, and the gifted orator and literary man Cicero, elected consul in 63 B.C., saved the State

from seizure, and Rome, as he claimed, from fire and sword, at the hands of the notorious Catiline and his associates. But the aims of such lawless leaders as Catiline may perhaps have been more laudable service on behalf of the people than the famous speeches of Cicero would lead us to believe.

Rise of Julius Cæsar

Thus military leadership became the controlling power in the Roman world, and it was evident to the practical statesman that the old machinery of the Republic could never again restore order and stable government in Italy. The situation absolutely demanded an able and patriotic military commander with an army behind him, who should make himself undisputed and permanent master of Italy. Convinced of this, the young patrician politician Julius Cæsar (Fig. 110), steadily aiming to gather the reins of power in his own hands, adopted the cause of the people against the Senate. Rising through the consulship, he secured appointment as governor of Gaul, the ancient region corresponding to modern France (58 B.C.). This gave him the desired military opportunity. He organized a powerful army, and in the use of it he displayed a military skill which placed him among the world's greatest masters of the art of war.

FIG. 110. BUST SAID TO BE A PORTRAIT OF JULIUS CÆSAR

The ancient portraits commonly accepted as those of Julius Cæsar are really of uncertain identity

Cæsar conquers Gaul (58–50 B.C.)

In eight years of march and battle he subdued the Gauls and conquered their territory from the ocean and the English Channel eastward to the Rhine. He even crossed the Channel and landed in Britain. He added a vast dominion to the

territory of Rome, and we should not forget that his conquests brought Latin into France, as the ancestor from which French speech has descended. In the midst of these great operations Cæsar nevertheless found time to write the story of his conquest of Gaul. The tale is narrated with the most unpretentious simplicity, but it was intended to convey to the Roman people an indelible impression of the services which they owed to their governor in Gaul. It did not fail of its purpose.

Cæsar leads his army into Italy (49 B.C.)

When Cæsar's term as governor of Gaul expired and the Senatorial party prevented his reëlection as consul, the victorious general was at no loss what to do. The veterans of his Gallic campaigns were devoted to him, and they followed him into Italy without hesitation. There was no army south of the Alps capable of meeting them in battle. Pompey, the other leading commander of the time, once a political colleague of Cæsar and enemy of the Senate, had now adopted the cause of the Senatorial party. Crossing to Greece with his army, in order to gain time and to give his troops the needed organization, Pompey was at length confronted by Cæsar at Pharsalus in Thessaly. Roman again met Roman, but the seasoned veterans of the Gallic wars, led by the greatest commander of the age, inevitably drove their countrymen from the field. From this day (Aug. 9, 48 B.C.) the Roman Republic was doomed, and the rule of a military leader was inevitable.

Cæsar defeats Pompey at Pharsalus (48 B.C.)

Cæsar makes circuit of the Mediterranean

Pompey, fleeing to Egypt, was murdered there. The beautiful Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies (p. 230), found that her charms and the political advantages of her friendship met a ready response on the part of the victorious Cæsar as he disembarked and entered the oldest seat of civilization on the Mediterranean. In a single battle he gained Asia Minor and then turned his attention to the far west. The subjugation of the African province behind Carthage and serious opposition in Spain formed the only obstacles to Cæsar's complete control of the empire of the world. These troubles were all disposed of by March, 45 B.C.

Cæsar sole master of Rome

There was now no one in Rome to gainsay this mightiest of the Romans. He made no attempt to abolish the outward forms of the Republic. For this he was too wise. He caused himself to be appointed Dictator for life, consul for ten years, and gathered the powers of all other important offices into his hands. He filled the Senate with his own supporters and appointees till it was ready at any time to do his bidding. He began extensive reforms of the corrupt Roman administration. He put an end to centuries of vexation with the Græco-Roman moon calendar (p. 193) by introducing the practical Egyptian calendar (p. 23), which we are all still using.[1] Divine honors were now paid to this tremendous Roman who had lifted himself to the throne of the world. He planned far-reaching conquests into new lands beyond the frontiers, like the subjugation of the Germans beyond the Rhine. Had he carried out these plans, the language of the Germans to-day would be a descendant of Latin, like the speech of the French and the Spanish.

The assassination of Cæsar

But there were still men in Rome who were not ready to submit to the rule of one man. On the fifteenth of March, 44 B.C., only a year after Cæsar had quelled the last disturbance in Spain, these men struck down the greatest of the Romans. If some of his murderers fancied themselves patriots overthrowing a tyrant, they little understood how vain were all such efforts to restore the ancient Republic. World dominion and its military power had forever demolished the Roman Republic, and the murder of Cæsar again plunged Italy and the Empire into civil war.

QUESTIONS

Section 40. Define the western Mediterranean world. Discuss the geography and climate of Italy. Did the peoples of the Late Stone Age in the West advance in civilization as fast as the Ægean people? Do you think their distance from the Orient had anything

[1] Unfortunately the Romans altered the convenient Egyptian calendar with its twelve thirty-day months and five holidays at the end; hence the varying length of our months.

to do with this? What early movement can we discern in north Italy? What happened in the Po valley? What westerners appeared as mercenaries in thirteenth-century Egypt (Fig. 106)?

Give an account of the Etruscans. What civilization did they absorb? Whence came the Indo-European tribes of Italy? Did they possess a common language like the Greeks or were their tribes unable to understand each other?

SECTION 41. Give an account of the Latins and their plain of Latium. Describe the probable causes and course of the foundation of Rome. Who were its foreign kings? What happened to them? What foreign traffic went on at the Roman docks? What Greek matters passed into Roman life here? Discuss Roman religion. Mention the Greek influences noticeable in Roman religion. What Etruscan practice was found in Roman religion?

What was the prevailing character of Roman religion? What kind of a state emerged when the Romans had expelled the kings? How does it compare with the Greek states? How does it contrast with the oriental states? What do we mean when we call Rome an *aristocratic* republic? Who were the consuls? the tribunes? What was the Senate? the Assembly?

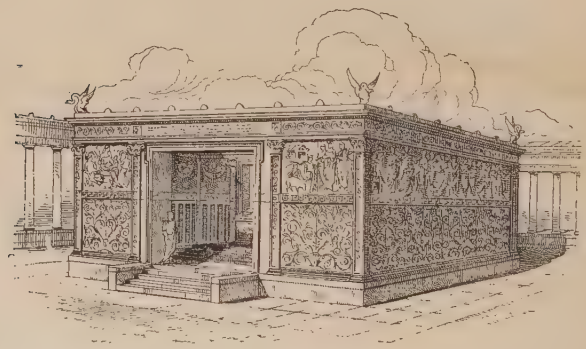
SECTION 42. Describe the Latin League and its origin. What was the Roman policy as to expansion? Outline the course of Roman absorption of Italy. Describe the growth of the city. Discuss its commercial expansion. What troublesome competitor did the Roman merchant find in the south?

What position in this competition was occupied by the Greek cities of Sicily and southern Italy? Sketch the story of early Carthage. What racial situation did Rome and Carthage illustrate?

SECTION 43. Sketch the Sicilian war with Carthage. What was the result? Sketch the war with Hannibal. Who should have endeavored to interfere at this point? What was the result of this war? Where did these campaigns place Rome? What finally happened to Carthage?

SECTION 44. Describe the introduction of Greek literature into Rome. What schoolbook did the Roman boy now gain? What literature did his parents receive? What civilization underlay Roman progress? Give some examples. Describe the advance of Rome into Macedonia and Asia. Describe the decline of the independent farmers of Italy. What part had slavery in the situation? How did men of wealth influence the situation?

What happened to the peasant farmer? Who now ruled? Tell the story of the Gracchi. Describe the resulting civil war and the methods of Marius and Sulla. Could the Republic survive after the introduction of such methods? Narrate the early career of Julius Cæsar. Who was his most dangerous opponent? What was the result of their rivalry? What was Cæsar's aim? What were the consequences of his murder?



CHAPTER XI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

Section 45. The Reign of Augustus

Far-reaching consequences of Cæsar's death; youth of his nephew Octavian (Augustus)

The death of Alexander the Great interrupted in mid-career the conquest of a world empire stretching from the frontiers of India to the Atlantic Ocean. The bloody deed of the Ides of March, 44 B.C., stopped a similar conquest by Julius Cæsar — a conquest which would have subjected Orient and Occident to the rule of a single sovereign. A like opportunity never rose again, and Cæsar's successor had no such aims. Over in Illyria the terrible news from Rome found the murdered statesman's grand-nephew Octavian (Fig. 111), a youth of eighteen, quietly pursuing his studies. His mother's letter brought by a secret messenger bade him flee far away eastward without delay, in order to escape all danger at the hands of his uncle's murderers. The youth's reply was to proceed without a moment's hesitation to Rome. This statesmanlike decision of character reveals the quality of the young man both as he then showed it and for years to follow.

Early career of Octavian

On his arrival in Rome Octavian learned that he had been legally adopted by Cæsar and also made his sole heir. His bold claim to his legal rights was met with refusal by Mark Antony, who had taken possession of Cæsar's fortune and gained election to the consulship. By such men Octavian was treated with patronizing indulgence at first — a fact to which he owed his life. He was too young to be regarded as dangerous. But his young shoulders carried a very old head. He slowly gathered the threads of the tangled situation in his clever fingers, not forgetting the lessons of his adoptive father's career. The most

obvious lesson was the necessity of military power. He therefore rallied a force of Cæsar's veterans, and two legions of Antony's troops also came over to him. Then playing the game of politics, with military power at his back and with none too scrupulous a conscience, he showed himself a statesman no longer to be ignored.

Octavian gains Italy and the West

Thus the death of Cæsar reopened the long and weary civil war. Year after year Octavian met the difficulties of his situation with an ever surer hand as his experience increased. One after another his rivals and opponents were overcome, and the murderers of his adoptive father were punished. Within ten years after Cæsar's assassination this youth of twenty-eight had gained complete control of Italy and the West.

FIG. 111. PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS, NOW IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Meantime he had early been obliged to enter a political alliance with his most serious rival, Antony, who was now living in Alexandria, where he ruled the East as far as the Euphrates like an oriental sovereign. With Cleopatra as his queen, Antony maintained a court of sumptuous splendor like that of the Persian kings in the days of their Empire.

Octavian overthrows Antony and gains the East (31 B.C.)

The tales of all this made their way to Rome and did not help Antony's cause in the eyes of the Roman Senate. Octavian easily induced the Senate for this and other reasons to declare war on Cleopatra, and thus he was able to advance against Antony. As the legions of Cæsar and Pompey, representing the East and the West, had once before faced each other on a battle field in Greece (p. 267), so now Octavian and Antony, the leaders of the East

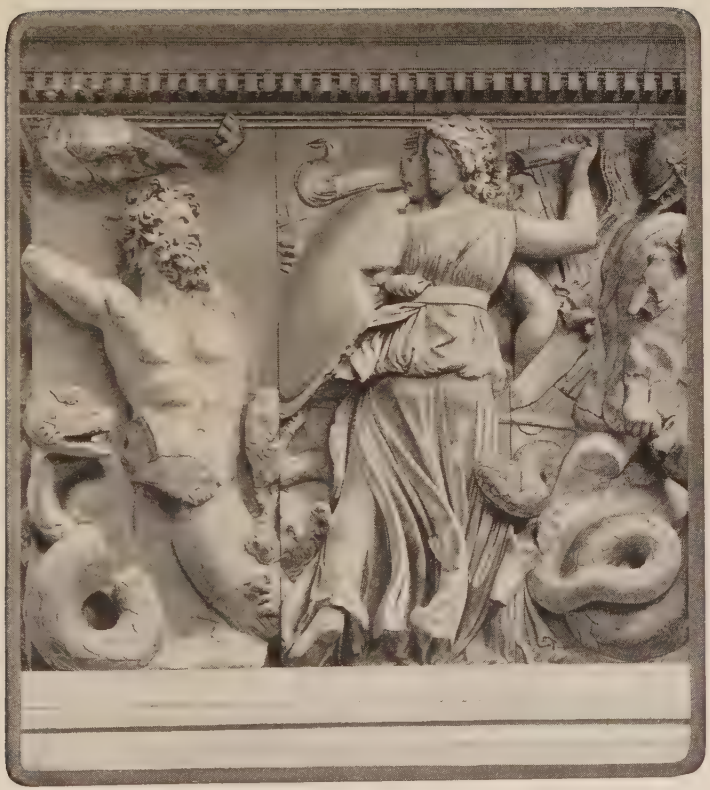


FIG. 112. CONFLICT BETWEEN GODS AND GIANTS

A monument of Hellenistic art — part of the great frieze around the colossal altar of Zeus at Pergamum (Fig. 101). A giant at the left, whose limbs end in serpents, raises over his head a great stone to hurl it at the goddess on the right. Note the vigorous action evident in the agitation of her drapery

FIG. 113. THE ROMAN FORUM AND ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE EARLY EMPIRE. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

We look across the ancient market place (*F*, p. 249) to the Tiber with its ships at the head of navigation. On each side of the market place, where we see the buildings (*E*, *J*, and *D*, *G*, *I*), were once rows of little wooden booths for selling meat, fish, and other merchandise. Especially after the beginning of the Carthaginian wars, these were displaced by fine buildings, like the basilica hall *D*, built not long after 200 B.C. Note the square ground plans (*J*, *M*) and the arches showing Etruscan influence, the Attic roofs and colonnades and the clerestory windows (*D*, *E*) copied from the Hellenistic cities. For fuller description see Breasted's "Ancient Times," p. 608, footnote; also Fig. 247 and p. 609, footnote

and the West, met at Actium on the west coast of Greece. The battle was fought both by land and by sea, and the outcome was a sweeping victory for the heir of Cæsar. Antony and Cleopatra took their own lives.

Close of a century of civil war and union of the Mediterranean world under Octavian

To the West, which he already controlled, Octavian now added also the East. Thus at last the unity of the Roman dominions was restored and an entire century of civil war, which had begun in the days of the Gracchi, was ended (31 B.C.). The next year Octavian landed in Egypt without resistance and took possession of the ancient land, as the successor of Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies. The lands under his control girdled the Mediterranean, and the entire Mediterranean world was under the power of a single ruler.

Octavian's moderate policy

When Octavian returned to Italy he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. A deep feeling of thanksgiving arose among all classes at the termination of a century of civil war and devastation. With few exceptions, all now felt also that the supremacy of an individual ruler was necessary for the control of the vast Roman dominions. It would have been easy for Octavian to make himself absolute monarch as his adoptive father was doing when the dagger cut short his plans. But Octavian was a man of qualities totally different from those of Cæsar. On the one hand, he was not trained as a soldier and had no desire for a career of military conquest; on the other hand, he felt a sincere respect for the institutions of the Roman Republic and did not wish to destroy them nor to gain for himself the throne of an oriental sovereign. During his struggle for the mastery heretofore he had preserved the forms of the Republic and had been duly elected to his position of power.

Organization of the Roman State by Octavian

On returning to Rome, therefore, Octavian did not disturb the Senate, but did much to strengthen it and improve its membership. Indeed, he voluntarily handed over his powers to the Senate in January, 27 B.C. The Senate thereupon, realizing by past experience that it did not possess the ability nor the organization for ruling the great Roman world successfully, gave him

officially the command of the army and the control of the leading frontier provinces. At the same time they conferred upon him the title of "Augustus," that is, "the august." He had many other important powers, and the chief name of his office was "Princeps," that is, "the First," meaning the first of the citizens. Another title given the head of the Roman Empire was an old word for director or commander, namely "Imperator," from which our word "Emperor" is derived.[1] Augustus, as we may now call him, regarded his position as that of an official of the Roman Republic, to which he was appointed by the Senate representing the government of the Republic.[2] Indeed, his appointment was not permanent, but for a term of years, after which he was reappointed.

Its dual character

The Roman Empire which here emerges was thus under a dual government of the Senate and of the Princeps, whom we commonly call the Emperor. While Augustus devised no legally established method for electing his successors and continuing the office, there was little danger that the position of Emperor would lapse. This dual state in which Augustus endeavored to preserve the old Republic was not well balanced. The Princeps held too much power to remain a mere appointive official. His powers were more than once increased by the Senate during the life of Augustus; not on his demand, for he always showed the Senate the most ceremonious respect, but because the Senate could not dispense with his assistance.

Waning power of the Senate; tendency toward military monarchy

Furthermore, the old powers of the Senate could not be maintained reign after reign, when the Senate controlled no army. This was an obvious fact already discerned by Cæsar, who made no pretext of preserving the mere appearance of senatorial power. The legions were behind the Princeps, and the so-called republican State created by Augustus tended to become a military monarchy, as we shall see. All the influences from the

[1] The German and Russian words for Emperor, "Kaiser" and "Czar," are derived from "Cæsar."

[2] The citizens, or the Assembly, seem to have had no voice in the creation of the office of princeps and its powers, though some scholars think otherwise.

Orient were in the same direction. Egypt was in no way controlled by the Senate, but remained a private domain of the Emperor. In this the oldest State on the Mediterranean the Emperor was king, in the oriental sense. He collected its huge revenues and ruled there as the Pharaohs had done. His position as absolute monarch in Egypt influenced his position as Emperor and his methods of government everywhere. Indeed, the East as a whole could only understand the position of

Influences of Egypt and the East toward monarchy

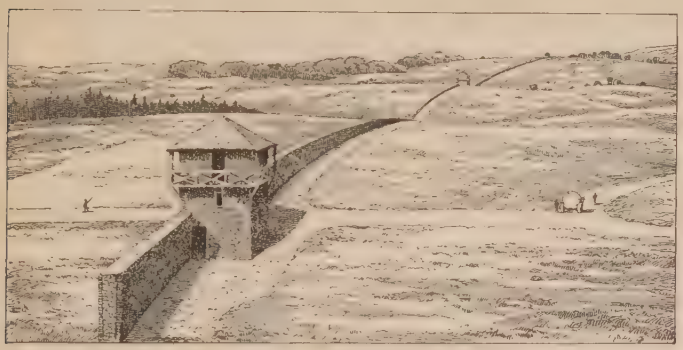


FIG. 114. RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN FORTIFIED WALL ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER

This masonry wall, some three hundred miles long, protected the northern boundary of the Roman Empire between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube, where it was most exposed to German attack. At short intervals there were blockhouses along the wall, and at points of great danger strongholds and barracks (Fig. 125) for the shelter of garrisons

Augustus as that of a king, and this title they at once applied to him. This also had its influence in the West.

The Empire which Rome now ruled consisted of the entire Mediterranean world, or a fringe of states extending entirely around the Mediterranean and including all its shores.[1] There was a natural boundary in the south, the Sahara, and also in the west, the Atlantic; but on the north and east further conquests

Peace policy of Augustus

[1] On the extent of the Mediterranean, see p. 111.

might be made. Augustus adopted the policy of organizing and consolidating the Empire *as he found it*, without making further conquests. In the east his boundary thus became the Euphrates, and in the north the Danube and the Rhine. The angle made by the Rhine and the Danube was not a favorable one for defense of the border (Fig. 114), and an effort was later made to push forward to the Elbe (see map of Roman Empire); but the Roman army was disastrously defeated by the barbarous German tribes and the attempt was abandoned. Thus the bulk of what we now call Germany never was conquered by the Romans, and the speech of the German tribes was not Latinized like that of France and Spain.[1]

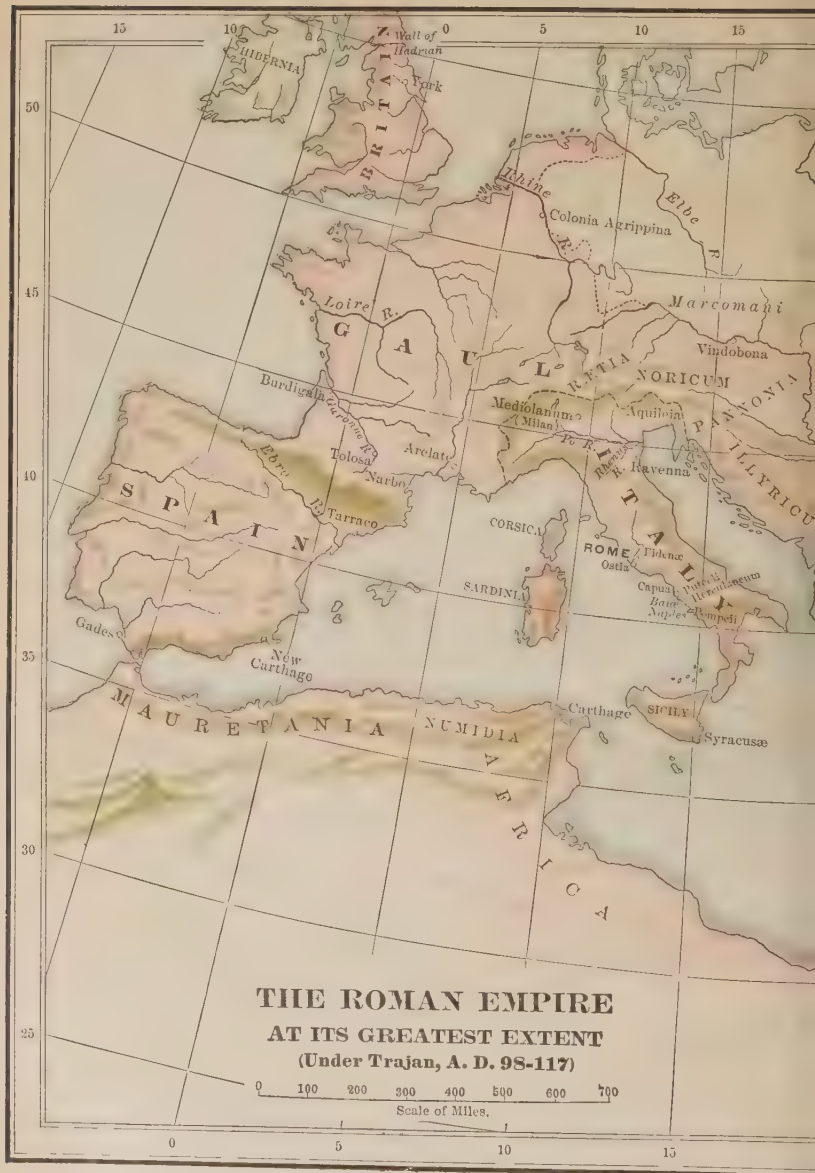
The army

For the maintenance of these vast frontiers Augustus organized an efficient standing army. Such was the extent of the exposed borders that the powers of the great Empire were later severely taxed to furnish enough troops for the purpose. Since the time of Marius the Italian farmers who made up the Roman army had been slowly giving way to professional soldiers having no home but the camp of the legion. Now the army was recruited from the provinces, and the soldier who entered the legion received citizenship in return for his service. Thus the fiction that the army was made up of citizens was maintained.

Great diversity of races included in the Empire

The population of this vast Empire, which girdled the Mediterranean, including France and England, was made up of the most diverse peoples and races. Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Italians, Gauls, Britons, Iberians (Spaniards) — all alike were under the sovereign rule of Rome. One great State embraced the nomad shepherds who spread their tents on the borders of the Sahara, the mountaineers in the fastnesses of Wales, and the citizens of Athens, Alexandria, and Rome, heirs to all the luxury and learning of the ages. Whether one lived in York or Jerusalem, Memphis or Vienna, he paid his taxes into the same

[1] The vast hordes of Germans in the unconquered north remained a constant menace to the Roman Empire. They finally overwhelmed a large part of it and caused the downfall of the Roman Empire in the West (see below, Chapter XII).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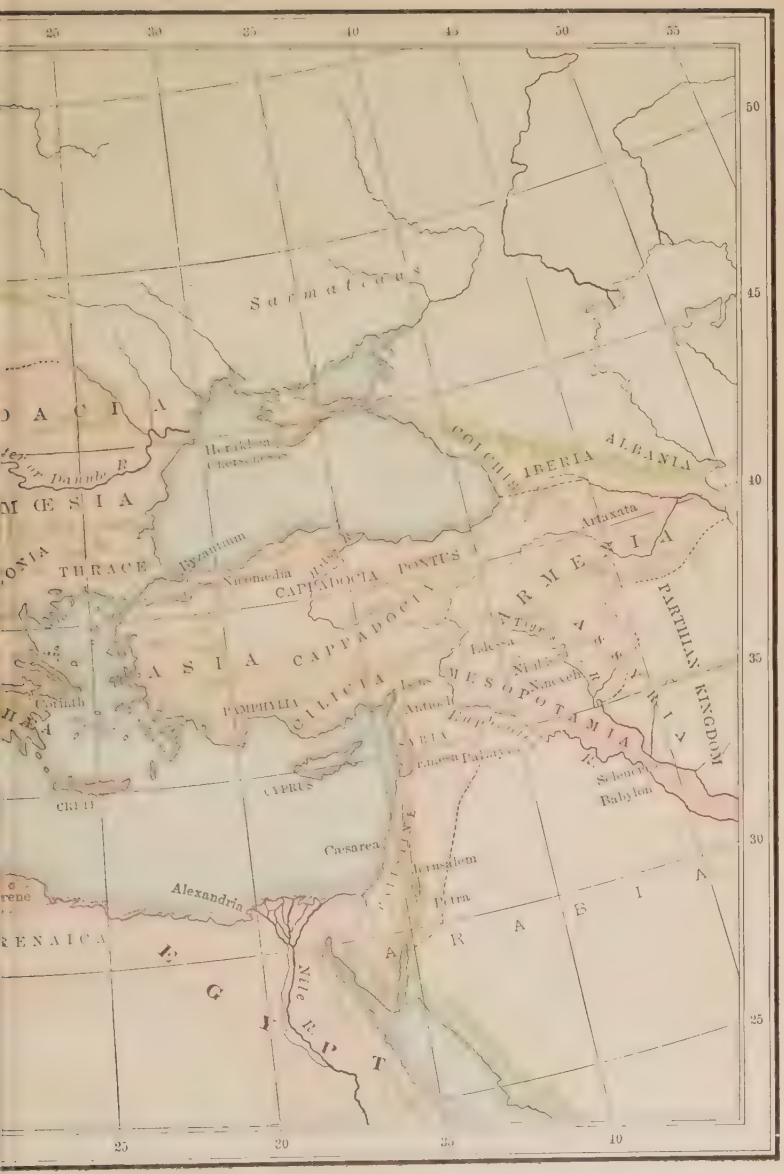
HIBERNIA
BRITANNIA
Wall of Hadrian
York
Rhine R.
Colonia Agrippina
Elbe R.
Loire R.
GAUL
Marcomani
Vindobona
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
ILLYRICUM
Burdigala
Garonne R.
Mediolanum
Milan
Aquileia
Po R.
Ebro R.
Tolosa
Arelate
Narbo
Tarraco
SPAIN
Ravenna
ITALY
CORSICA
ROME
Ostia
Fidenae
Capua
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Baiæ
Naples
Pompeii
SARDINIA
Gades
New Carthage
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Carthage
SICILY
Syracusæ
AFRICA
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT
(Under Trajan, A. D. 98-117)
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
Scale of Miles.


Sarmatia
DACIA
MOESIA
Danube R.
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Chersonesus
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Nicomedia
CAPPADOCIA
PONTUS
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Edessa
Nisibis
Nineveh
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
Iconium
Antioch
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Corinth
CRETE
CYPRUS
Seleucia
Babylon
Caesarea
Jerusalem
Petra
Alexandria
ARABIA
Nile R.
EGYPT
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treasury, he was tried by the same law, and looked to the same armies for protection.

The sufferings of the provinces from the century of civil war

At the accession of Augustus the Roman Empire from Rome outward to the very frontiers of the provinces was sadly in need of restoration and opportunity to recuperate. The eastern domains, especially Greece, where the most important fighting of the long civil war had occurred, had suffered severely. All the provinces had been oppressed and excessively overtaxed or even tacitly plundered under the Republic (p. 239). Barbarian invaders had seized the undefended cities of the provinces and even established robber-states for plundering purposes. Greece herself never recovered from the wounds then suffered, and in general the eastern Mediterranean had been greatly demoralized. It was not until Cæsar's time that Pompey cleared it of the pirates, who had almost taken possession of it. The cost of the century of civil war had been borne by the provinces. The civilized world was longing for peace. Augustus now succeeded brilliantly in restoring order and in establishing those stable conditions out of which prosperity grows.

The attempted restoration by Augustus

In Italy the policy of Augustus was in all directions governed by that respect for the traditions of older Rome which he had displayed in organizing the new State. Everywhere he endeavored to restore the old days, the good old Roman customs, the beliefs of the fathers. The state temples, which had frequently fallen into decay, were repaired; new ones were built, especially in Rome; and the services and usages of Roman state religion were revived. The people were urged to awaken their declining interest in the religion of their fathers, and the old religious feasts were celebrated with increased splendor and impressiveness.[1] The purpose of Augustus in reviving *old* Rome as far as possible was evidently to nationalize Italy, and to establish there a Roman nation forming a stable nucleus within the Roman Empire.

[1] Had it been possible for Augustus to know the history of the Orient for six centuries before his own time, he would have discerned how vain is any attempt of authority to turn back the hand of time and restore old conditions (see p. 84).

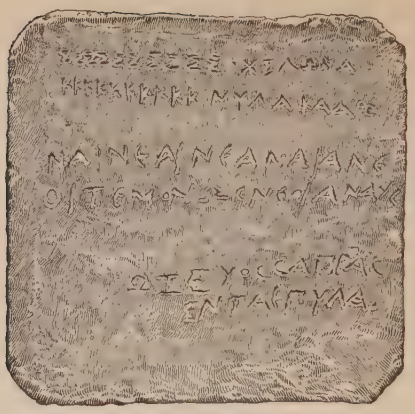

FIG. 115. SCRIBBLINGS OF SICILIAN SCHOOLBOYS ON A BRICK IN THE DAYS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In passing a brickyard these schoolboys of seventeen hundred years ago amused themselves in scribbling school exercises *in Greek* on the soft clay bricks before they were baked. At the top a little boy who was still making capitals carefully wrote the capital letter *S* (Greek Σ) ten times, and under it the similar letter *K*, also ten times. These he followed by the words "turtle" (ΧΕΛΩΝΑ), "mill" (ΜΥΛΑ), and "pail" (ΚΑΔΟΣ), all in capitals. Then an older boy, who could do more than write capitals, has pushed the little chap aside and proudly demonstrated his superiority by writing in two lines an exercise in tongue gymnastics (like "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers," etc.), which in our letters is as follows:

Nai neai nea naia neoi temon, hōs neoi ha naus

This means: "Boys cut new planks for a new ship, that the ship might float." A third boy then added two lines at the bottom. The brick illustrates the spread of Greek (p. 232) as well as provincial education under the Roman Empire (p. 282)

Much as Athens in the days of greatest Athenian power, so the vision of the greatness of the Roman State stirred the imagination of the time. Roman literature now reached its highest level. Cicero, the most cultivated man Rome ever produced (p. 265), had perished at the hands of Antony's brutal soldiery as one of the last sacrifices of the long civil war. He had drunk deep at the fountains of Greek culture. There were many educated men in Rome who had enjoyed similar opportunities, and, like Cicero too, had been shaken by the terrible ordeal of the death struggles of the Republic.

Horace, the greatest poet of the time, had fraternized with the assassins of Cæsar, and in the ensuing struggle had faced the future Augustus on the field

of battle. Like the old Greek lyric poets (p. 159) he had been caught in the dangerous current of his time, and, as he was swept along in the violent stream of civil war, he had with difficulty struggled ashore and at last found secure footing in the general peace. From the vantage ground of the Emperor's

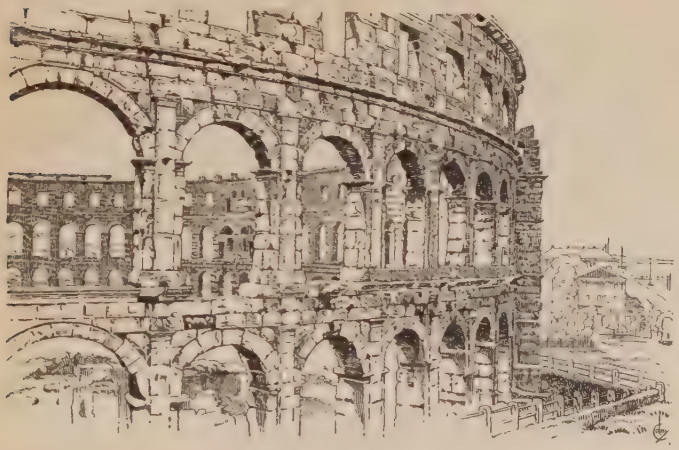

FIG. 116. ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT POLA, DALMATIA

Every large Roman town had a vast arena, or amphitheater, in which thousands of spectators could be seated to watch the public fights between professional swordsmen (gladiators) and between men and wild beasts. The emperors and rich men paid the expenses of these combats. The greatest of these arenas was the Colosseum at Rome. The one here represented is at Pola, in Dalmatia, and shows that a Roman town of perhaps forty thousand inhabitants was supplied with an amphitheater, holding no less than twenty thousand spectators, who must have assembled from all the region around. The seats have disappeared and only the outside of the building remains

forgiveness and favor he quietly watched events as the tide swept past him, and then finding his voice he interpreted the men and the life of his time in a body of verse, which forms for us an undying picture of the Romans in the age of Augustus. The poems of Horace will always remain one of the greatest legacies from the ancient world, a treasury of human life as

pictured by a ripe and cultivated mind, unsurpassed even in the highly developed literature of the Greeks.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.)

The other great literary name of the epoch is that of Virgil, the friend of Horace. Hardly so penetrating a mind as Horace, Virgil nevertheless remains one of the great interpreters of the age in which he lived. Moreover, his command of Latin verse

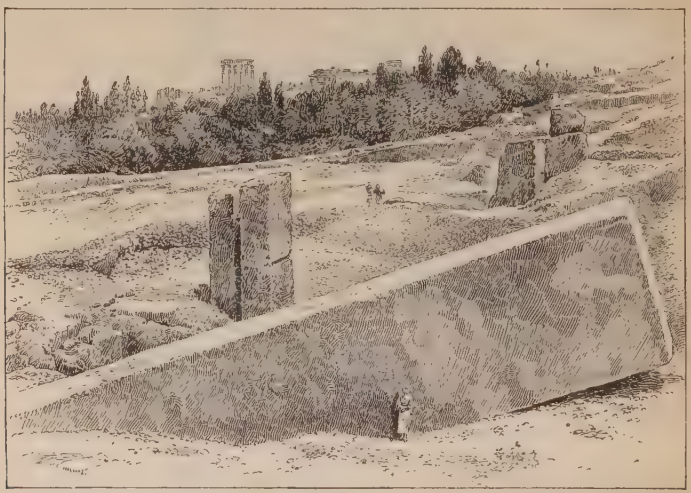

FIG. 117. RUINS OF THE ROMAN TEMPLES AT BAALBEK, SYRIA

The Roman temples of the Sun-god at this place are among the greatest buildings ever erected (p. 284). The huge block in the foreground belongs to an inclosure wall; this block is about sixty-one feet long, thirteen feet wide, and nearly ten feet thick

is supreme. He has reflected to us in all its poetic beauty the rustic life of his time on the green hillsides of Italy, but he is better known to the modern world at large by his great epic, the Æneid. Unlike the Homeric songs, the epic of Virgil is not the expression of a heroic age (p. 142). It is the product of a self-conscious, literary age — the highly finished work of a literary artist. He takes his materials largely from the early Greek stories of the Trojan cycle, but he feels the inspiration

of the great State under which he lives, and the motive of the poem is to trace the origin of the house of Augustus from the Trojan heroes of old. Deeply admired by the age which produced it, the Æneid has had an abiding influence on the literature of the later world. These two names, Horace and Virgil, far outshine the numerous lesser lights of the Augustan Age, of whom there were later but too few.

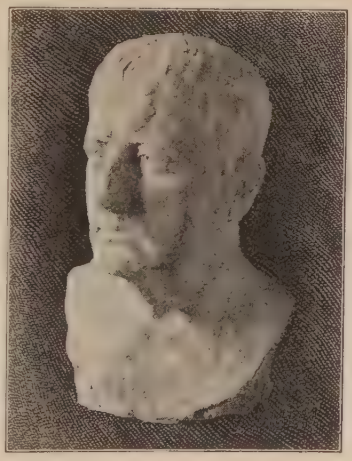

Fig. 118. Portrait of an Unknown Roman

This terracotta head is one of the finest portraits ever made. It represents one of the masterful Roman lords of the world, and shows clearly in the features those qualities of power and leadership which so long maintained Roman supremacy (p. 285)

The Romans who enjoyed such writings as these had also begun to read Greek philosophy. Once obliged to read it in Greek, they could now peruse the essays and treatises of Cicero, in which Greek philosophy is set forth in Latin. Greek thought had now taken a practical turn, and endeavored to furnish the thinking man with rules of life by which he might shape his character and order his conduct. The two later schools of Greek philosophy, the Stoic and the Epicurean, are in this respect practically *religions*—systems of thought which furnish a reasonable basis for right conduct. The educated Roman has now usually abandoned his beliefs in the old gods of Rome and has become a Stoic or an Epicurean. Such men came to find their gospel in the writings of Seneca, who wrote on the Stoic manner of life after Augustus's time.

Philosophy and law in the Augustan Age

Seneca

At the same time men of the greatest gifts were beginning to expand the narrow *city*-law of Rome, that it might meet the

The Roman law

needs of a great *empire*. They laid the foundations of a vast imperial code of law, a great work of Roman genius. Its purpose was that as there was one government, so there should be one law for all the civilized world. The same principles of reason, justice, and humanity were believed to hold whether the Roman citizen lived upon the Euphrates or the Thames. The law of the Roman Empire is its chief legacy to posterity. Its provisions are still in force in many of the states of Europe to-day, and it is one of the subjects of study in our American universities. Wives and children were protected from the cruelty of the head of the house, who, in earlier centuries, had been privileged to treat the members of his family as slaves. The law held that it was better that a guilty person should escape than that an innocent person should be condemned. It conceived mankind not as a group of nations and tribes, each with its own laws, but as one people included in one great empire and subject to a single system of law based upon fairness and reason.

Section 46. Civilization after Augustus and its Decline

The Mediterranean world; the same culture throughout the Roman Empire

Such organization created a vast Mediterranean world, in the midst of which men of all nations lost their nationality. In spite of the efforts of Augustus, even the men of Italy soon felt themselves to be citizens of the great Roman *world* — a world everywhere more and more inwrought with Greek civilization. The government encouraged education by supporting at least three teachers in every town of any considerable importance (Fig. 115). They taught rhetoric and oratory and explained the works of the great Greek and Latin writers. A reading public for the first time fringed the entire Mediterranean, and an educated man was sure to find, even in the outlying parts of the great Empire, other educated men with much the same interests and ideas as his own. Travel was so common that wide acquaintance with the world was not unusual.

A tour of the Mediterranean in the Empire; Greece

The cultivated Roman gentleman now makes his tour of the Mediterranean much as does the modern man of means. In the writings of the Empire we may follow the Roman tourist as he wanders along the foot of the Acropolis of Athens (Plate III, p. 180) and catches a vision of vanished greatness as it was in the days of Themistocles and Pericles. He strolls through the porch

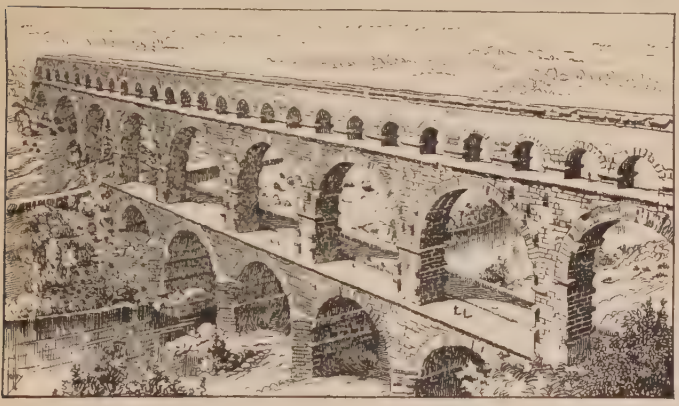

FIG. 119. ROMAN BRIDGE AND AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES, FRANCE

This structure was built by the Romans about the year 20 A.D. to supply the Roman colony of Nemausus (now called Nîmes) in southern France with water from two excellent springs twenty-five miles distant. It is nearly nine hundred feet long and one hundred sixty feet high, and carried the water over the valley of the river Gard. The channel for the water is at the very top, and one can still walk through it. The miles of aqueduct on either side of this bridge and leading up to it have almost disappeared

of the Stoics, where Stoic philosophy was first taught, and he renews pleasant memories of student days when as a youth he studied here. He remembers also how he went occasionally over to the Academy (p. 210), where he heard the teaching of Plato's successors.

If his journey takes him to Delphi (Fig. 82), he finds it still a vivid story of the victories of Hellas in the days of her greatness,

a story told in marble treasuries and in votive monuments (Fig. 82) donated to Apollo by all the Greek states in thanksgiving for the triumphs he has granted. As he stands amid these thickly clustered monuments, the Roman notices many an empty pedestal, and he recalls how the villas of his friends at home, across the hills from his own estates, are adorned in court and porch and garden vista with the bronze and marble statues which once occupied these empty pedestals, but have now been carried to Italy by Roman power. It is a vivid illustration of how the best things in Greek civilization have been appropriated by the Romans. The Greek cities which brought forth these things are all now politically helpless under the sovereignty of Rome, and the Romans have become the heirs of the great past of Greece.

The East

As the Roman traveler passes through the cities of Asia Minor (Fig. 101) and Syria, his national pride is quickened to see what Roman rule is doing for these undeveloped lands to the very borders of the Arabian desert. Fine military roads paved with smooth stone blocks link city to city and furnish what is for the ancient world rapid transit for the speedy movement of government messengers or the urgent transfer of the never-failing legions. Long aqueducts conduct the waters from the mountain heights down into the city fountains for public use. Imposing public buildings and monuments are rising on every hand (Fig. 117). Where once the barracks sheltered the mercenaries of the local tyrant of former days, there now stands a schoolhouse. Men are everywhere rejoicing in the universal peace and realize fully that it is the gift of Rome. The advantages of Roman citizenship are constantly before their eyes in the ever-increasing number of Roman citizens in the eastern cities, where they are settled as merchants even on the banks of the Euphrates. Tranquillity and safe transport, guaranteed by the Roman legions, have filled the highways with merchants and travelers. As the Roman looks out over the eastern harbors (Fig. 102) he sees the distant horizon whitened with the sails of

Mediterranean commerce in Roman ships. They carry Roman coins, weights, and measures throughout the Mediterranean.

If he takes one of these huge Roman galleys and lands in the Nile delta, he finds this land of ancient wonders filled as of old with flocks and herds and vast stretches of luxuriant grain

Egypt

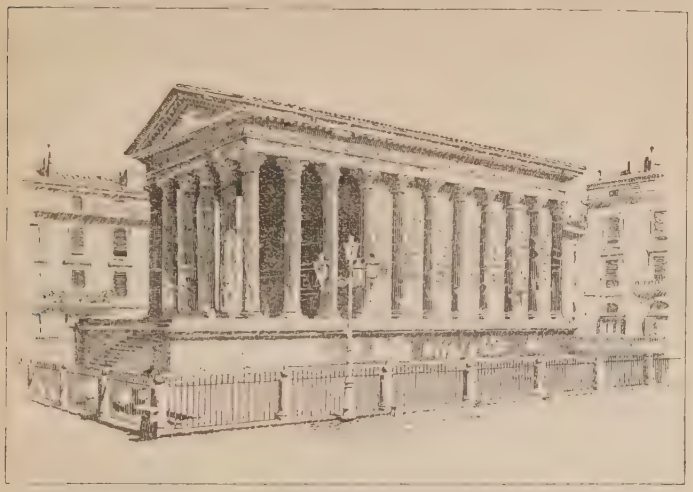

FIG. 120. ROMAN TEMPLE AT NÎMES, FRANCE

This beautiful temple was probably built about the beginning of the Christian era. It was situated in the forum with other public buildings which have now disappeared. After the break-up of the Roman Empire it was used as a Christian church, then as a town hall, then as a warehouse, and finally as a stable. In 1824 it was restored to its original condition, as we now find it

fields. It has become the granary of Rome and a mine of wealth for the Emperor's private purse. The splendid buildings of Alexandria remind the traveler of Greece; but as he sails up the river, he is at once in the midst of the ancient East, and all about him are buildings which were old long before Rome was founded. These attract numerous wealthy Greek and Roman tourists. Such Romans feel themselves lords of the world (Fig. 118).

Like our own modern fellow citizens in the same land, their clothing betrays every touch of the latest mode. They berate the slow mails, languidly discuss the latest news from Rome while with indolent curiosity they visit the Pyramids of Gizeh (Plate I), or spend a lazy afternoon carving their names on the colossal statues which overshadow the mighty plain of Egyptian Thebes (Fig. 29). On these monuments we find their scribblings at the present day. Everywhere throughout the eastern

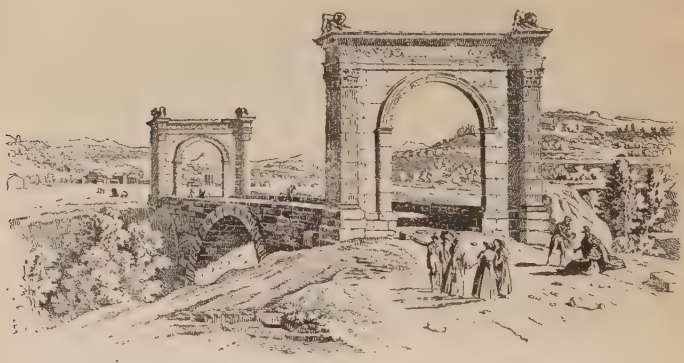

FIG. 121. ROMAN BRIDGE AT ST. CHAMAS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

This Roman bridge with its handsome portals was built in the time of the Emperor Augustus; that is, about the beginning of the Christian era

Mediterranean the Roman hears Greek and speaks it with his friends. As he moves westward again, however, he begins to hear more Latin.

The West

Seneca, one of the wisest of the Romans, said, "Wherever a Roman has conquered, there he also lives." This was true to some extent everywhere, but especially in the West. Colonies were sent out to the confines of the Empire, and the remains of great public buildings, of theaters and bridges, of sumptuous villas and baths at places like Treves (Trier), Cologne, Bath, and Salzburg, indicate how thoroughly the influence and civilization of Rome penetrated to the utmost parts of the territory

subject to her rule. The illustrations in this chapter will show the reader what wonderfully fine towns the Roman colonies were (see Figs. 116, 117, 119–124).

The remarkable development of such splendid cities in the Roman provinces would indicate great advances in civilization. This was without doubt true of certain localities. But this outward splendor of the colonies and provinces was no indication

The decline of civilization after Augustus

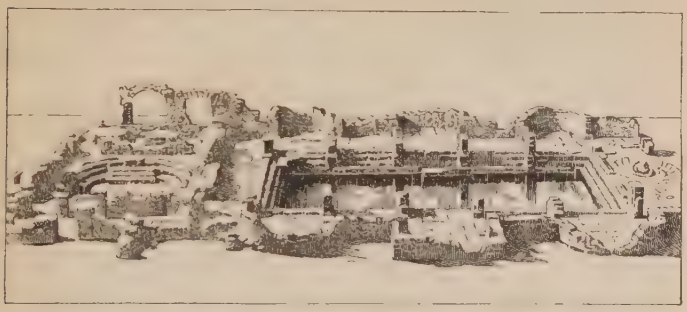

FIG. 122. RUINS OF ROMAN BATHS AT BATH, ENGLAND

There are hot springs at Bath, England, and here the Roman colonists in Britain developed a fashionable watering place. In recent years the soil and rubbish which, through the centuries, had collected over the old Roman buildings have been removed, and we can get some idea of how they were arranged. The picture represents a model of a part of the ruins. To the right is a great quadrangular pool, eighty-three by forty feet in size, and to the left a circular bath. Over the whole a fine hall was built, with recesses on either side of the big pool where one might sit and talk with his friends

of the tendency of civilization in the Roman world as a whole. The triumph of Augustus had ushered in two centuries of peace, little affected by the frequent disturbances and the often serious wars on the frontiers. During these two centuries the most profound changes went on within the Roman Empire — changes which betray the slow decline and lead to the fall of the great structure of civilization which had risen to dominate the Mediterranean world. The effort of Augustus to restore the simple wholesomeness and the sturdy virtues of the old Roman life

had failed. For tendencies which no ruler can control were in motion beneath the surface.

Lack of responsible citizenship

In the first place, the people were losing their voice in government. *Responsible* citizenship, which puts responsibility for the welfare of the state on each citizen, passed away and the world became indifferent to public questions. Men no longer enjoyed the educative influence of an interest in the welfare and the problems of the community. As the comparatively small percentage of highly educated men thus yielded to passive indifference they lost public leadership, and it passed into the hands of the corrupt and untrained masses.

Decline of the army

This loss of regard for the duties of citizenship had a serious effect on the army, once the greatest organization in the Roman Empire. By the end of the first century A.D. the Romans of Italy had ceased to enlist in the rank and file of the army. Recruits for the defense of the frontiers were then levied exclusively in the provincial districts. We recall that the sword which such a recruit received from the hands of the centurion, as he stepped into the ranks for the first time, eventually brought him Roman citizenship. But such a recruit had never seen Rome nor ever enjoyed the influences of civilized life. He knew nothing of Roman citizenship in the old sense. He and his comrades lived in frontier barracks (Fig. 125), far from refining contact with civilization. As it became more and more difficult to raise the legions, even the German barbarians of the north were permitted to cross the border (Fig. 114) and enlist. In the end the army degenerated into unruly and turbulent hordes of military frontiers men, feeling none of the responsibilities of a citizen bearing arms, and often much resembling the revolutionary bands which devastate Mexico or the South American republics.

Men of wealth absorb the farming lands; the villas

The Romans of Italy, who thus yielded the sword to provincials and foreigners, either succumbed to poverty on the one hand or, on the other, improving the opportunities of the age for self-enrichment, the fortunate few were leading a life of idle luxury (Fig. 129). It was unlawful for a Roman of senatorial rank to

engage in merchandising. Hence land was the most highly esteemed form of wealth in the Roman Empire, in spite of the heavy taxes imposed upon it. Without large holdings of land no one could hope to enjoy a high social position or an honorable office under the government. Consequently the land came gradually into the hands of the rich and ambitious. This change which

FIG. 123. FORTIFIED GATE OF THE CITY OF TRIER IN WESTERN GERMANY

Colonia Augusta Treverorum (now called Trier or Treves) was one of the chief Roman colonies on the German boundaries of the Empire. The Roman emperors often resided there, and the remains of their palace are still to be seen. The great gate here represented was designed to protect the entrance of the town, which was surrounded with a wall, for the Romans were in constant danger of attack from the neighboring German tribes. One can also see at Treves the remains of a vast amphitheater in which on two occasions Constantine had several thousand German prisoners cast to be killed by wild animals for the amusement of the spectators (see Fig. 116)

had already destroyed the small farmer in Italy (p. 264) now blighted the prosperity of the provinces also. Great estates called *villas* covered not only Italy but also Gaul and Britain. Half of the great province behind Carthage, called "Africa,"[1] was in the hands of six such villa owners. The lord of such kingly domains lived like a prince, with a great household of personal attendant slaves who cooked the food, waited on the proprietor, wrote his letters, read to him, and entertained him in other ways.

Decreasing number of slaves and their improved condition

Such *household* slaves led a not undesirable life and were often on terms of the greatest intimacy with their owners. *Household* slavery had never been so great an evil as the *industrial* and *agricultural* slavery which had brought such social and economic ruin during the last two centuries of the Republic, when the work in the factories and the fields of Italy was done by multitudes of slaves (p. 264). The long wars had furnished these vast hordes of slaves; but after the great wars of conquest were over, this source of supply ceased, for there were no prisoners of war to be sold as slaves. The hosts of foreign slaves who accomplished the ruin of the Italian farmers and craftsmen after 200 B.C. (p. 264) had therefore greatly decreased under the Empire, when the number of slaves was steadily diminishing, and the villas were worked by the *coloni* (see p. 292). The condition, even of industrial and agricultural slaves moreover, had much improved. Their owners abandoned the horrible subterranean prisons in which the farm hands had once been miserably huddled at night. The law, moreover, protected the slave from some of the worst forms of abuse; first and foremost it deprived his master of the right to kill him. Although a villa might be as extensive as a large village, its members were under the absolute control of the proprietor of the estate.

Another cause of the decreasing number of slaves was the fact that masters now began to free their slaves on a large scale —

[1] This word did not, of course, designate the whole continent of Africa as it does now. Under Rome it applied to a province extending only to the borders of the Sahara.

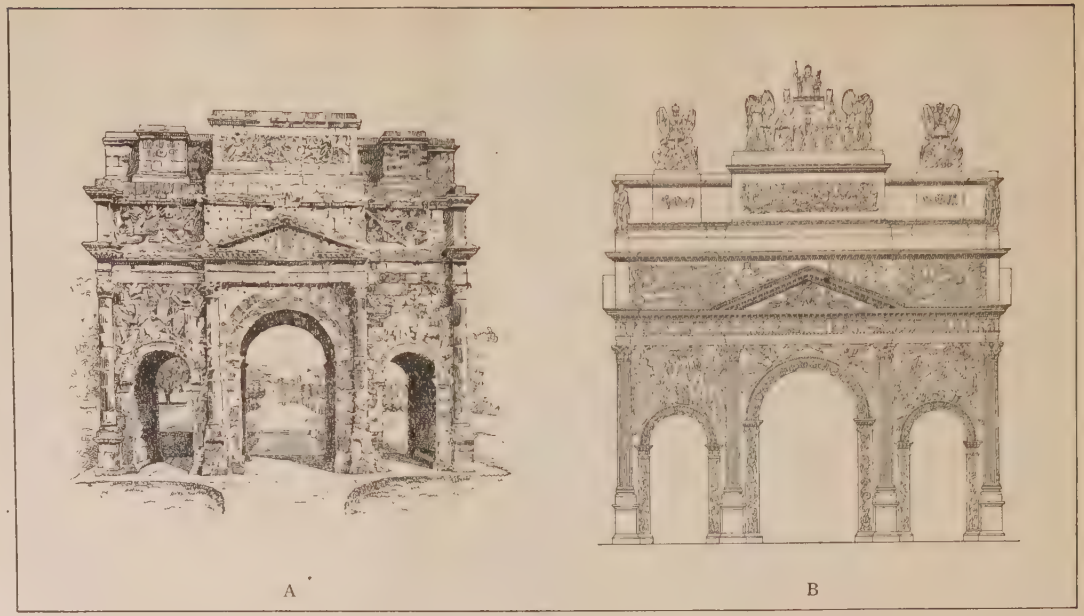

FIG. 124. ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT ORANGE, FRANCE

A, the arch as it now looks; B, original appearance of arch. The Romans were accustomed to build huge and handsome arches to commemorate important victories. There were a number at Rome naturally (see Fig. 117); of those built in the chief cities of the Empire, several still remain. The one pictured above was built at the Roman colony of Arausio (now called Orange), on the river Rhone, to celebrate a victory over the Gauls in 21 A.D. Modern cities have erected similar arches; for example, Paris, Berlin, London, and New York

Contrast between *freedman* and free men

for what reasons we do not know. When a slave was freed he was called a *freedman*, but he was by no means in the position of one who had been born free. It was true that he was no longer a mere thing that could be bought and sold, but he had still to serve his former master — who had now become his *patron* — for a certain number of days in the year. He was obliged to pay him a part of his earnings and could not marry without his patron's consent.

Decline of the poor free citizen — in the towns

But as the condition of the slaves improved and many of them became freedmen, the state of the poor free man only became worse. In the towns (Fig. 128), if he tried to earn his living, he was forced to mingle with those slaves who were permitted to work for wages and with the freedman, but he naturally tended to sink to their level.

In the country; the *coloni*

In the country the small farmer and the free laborer for hire could not survive long in competition with the great villas. As the burden of taxes became unbearable the farmer finally gave up the struggle. He entered upon an arrangement which made him the *colonus* of some wealthy landholder. As such the farmer and his descendants were forever attached to the land they worked, and passed with it from owner to owner when it changed hands. While not actually slaves, they were not free to leave or go where they pleased, and they were hardly as favorably situated as many slaves. Like the medieval serf,[1] they could not be deprived of their fields so long as they paid the owner a certain part of their crop and worked for him during a period fixed by the customs of the estate upon which they lived. This system made it impossible for the farmer to become really independent, or for his son to become better off than he. The great villas once worked by slaves were now cultivated chiefly by these *coloni*.

Resemblance between the *coloni* and the later serfs

Country people flock to the city; decreasing population

Multitudes turned to the city for relief, just as at the present day in Europe and America there is a large and steady movement of country population toward the cities. The large families,

[1] See below, section 67.

which country life favors, were no longer reared, the number of marriages decreased, and the population of the Empire steadily shrank. The rapid decline of agriculture, which had long before overtaken Greece, and then Italy (p. 264), having now reached the provinces also, there were vast stretches of unworked fields which were slowly absorbed by forest wilds. As the amount of

FIG. 125. GLIMPSES OF A ROMAN FRONTIER STRONGHOLD (RESTORED AFTER WALTZE-SCHULZE)

Above, at the left, the main gate of the fort; the other three views show the barracks (compare Fig. 114)

land under cultivation steadily decreased, the ancient world was no longer raising enough food to feed itself properly. The scarcity was felt most severely in the great centers of population, like Rome, where prices at once began to go up. Our generation, afflicted in the same way, is not the first to complain of "the high cost of living." Industrial prosperity and the growth of manufactures in the cities could not avail to offset the decay of agriculture.

Diminishing farm lands; insufficient food supply

Luxury and corruption of the city

The country people who yielded to the attractions of the city were only debased by the life they entered there. At Rome the newcomer found a city of sumptuous marble where once there was little but brick. Noble architecture enveloped the Forum

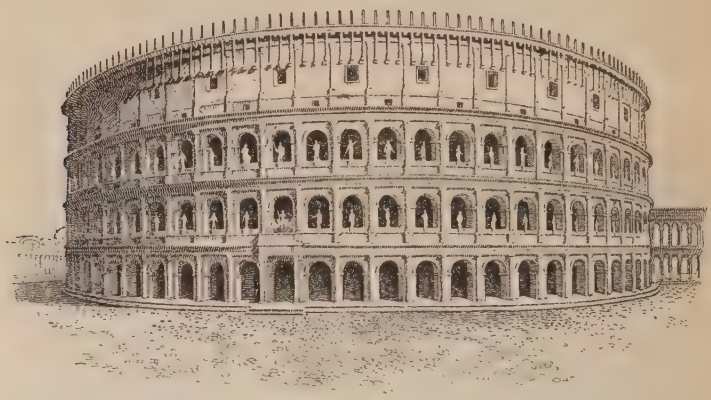

FIG. 126. THE VAST FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER AT ROME NOW CALLED THE COLOSSEUM. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

This enormous building, one of the greatest in the world, was an oval arena surrounded by rising tiers of seats, accommodating nearly fifty thousand people. We see here only the outside wall, as restored. It was built by the emperors Vespasian and Titus, and was completed in 80 A.D. as a place for spectacular combats. Athletic games and contests of strength had long accompanied the funerals of great men in Greece and Rome. The Romans then continued such combats for their own sake, and the combatants, called *gladiators* (meaning "swordsmen"), often took each other's lives (compare Fig. 116)

and crowned the Seven Hills (Figs. 113, 127). Outward prosperity, luxury and splendor, chariot races, bloody games and spectacles (Fig. 126), free distribution of bread, wine, and meat to all needy citizens at the cost of the State — these things completely concealed from the discernment of the mob the currents beneath the surface which were setting so steadily toward ruin. The city of Rome thus became a great hive of shiftless

population supported by the State with means for which the struggling agriculturist was taxed.

Meantime the great city was rife with increasing luxury and display. The discovery of the seasonal winds in the Indian Ocean resulted in great commerce, through the Red Sea with India, such as the world had never known before. At the same

Incoming of oriental luxuries

FIG. 127. A STREET OF TOMBS OUTSIDE ROME, ON THE APPIAN WAY

These tombs lined both sides of the Appian Way (p. 256) for some distance from Rome. They illustrate the more showy and sumptous architecture of the Romans as contrasted with the simpler style of the Greeks (compare the Athenian street of tombs, Fig. 97)

time there was overland connection further north with China. All the luxuries of the East began to flow into the Mediterranean — many of them luxuries which the Romans never had seen before. Roman ladies were decked with diamonds, pearls, and rubies from India, and they robed themselves in shining silks from China. The tables of the rich were bright with peaches and apricots, now appearing for the first time in the Roman world. Roman cooks learned to prepare rice, formerly

only prescribed by physicians as a delicacy for convalescents.[1] Instead of sweetening their dishes with honey, as formerly, Roman households began to find a new product in the market place known as "sakari," as the report of a venturesome oriental sailor of the first century A.D. calls the sirup of sugar cane, which he brought by water from India into the Mediterranean for the first time. This is the earliest mention of sugar in history. These new things in the Roman world remind one of the potatoes, coffee, tobacco, and Indian corn of America as they found their way to Europe after the voyages of Columbus.

Section 47. Popularity of Oriental Religions and the Spread of Early Christianity

Supremacy of oriental religions

These things are tangible evidence of the tide that was setting into the Mediterranean from the Orient. This tide brought with it other things less easily traced, but much more important in their influence on the declining Roman world. Intellectual life was steadily ebbing; there was not a really great name in Roman literature after Horace and Virgil. Philosophy was no longer occupied with new thoughts and the discovery of new truths. In its place, as we have seen, appeared the semireligious systems of living, taught by the Stoics and Epicureans. But such teaching was only for the highly educated and the intellectual class — a class constantly decreasing. Even such men frequently yielded to the tendency of the multitude and sought refuge in the oriental religions which the incoming life of the East was bringing in.

Egyptian Isis

Even in Augustus's day the Roman poet Tibullus, absent on a military campaign which sickness had interrupted, wrote to his fiancée Delia then in Rome: "What does your Isis for me now, Delia? What avail me those brazen sistra[2] of hers, so often shaken by your hand? . . . Now, now, goddess, help me;

[1] Horace amusingly pictures the distress of a miserly Roman at the price of a dish of rice prescribed by a physician. It was still a luxury in his time.

[2] Musical instruments played by shaking in the hand.

for that man may be healed by thee is proved by many a picture in thy temples." Tibullus and his fiancée belonged to the most cultivated class, but they had taken refuge in the faith of the Egyptian Isis. What these two had done, was being done under

FIG. 128. A VIEW ACROSS THE FORUM OF POMPEII TO VESUVIUS

The little provincial city of Pompeii near Naples, having twenty thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants, was destroyed by fire and overwhelmed with showers of ashes from the neighboring volcano of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Some two thousand of the inhabitants perished. At present the accumulations from successive eruptions are about twenty feet deep. The excavation of the town is still going on, and will probably continue some twenty-five years longer before the whole place is uncovered. The place is a great treasure house of Roman life in the smaller cities under the early Empire, for all the streets and the first floors of the houses are preserved, often with many things of value which they contained (see Figs. 99 and 129)

the early Empire by multitudes, and the temples of Isis were to be found in all the larger cities. The Isis temple at Pompeii (Fig. 128) has survived to illustrate the power of the foreign goddess and Osiris her husband (p. 27), who were now displacing the gods of the Greeks and Romans.

"Great Mother" of Asia Minor

Isis and Osiris were not without oriental competitors, for the Great Mother goddess of Asia Minor, with her consort Attis, gained the devotion of many Romans also. In the army the Persian god Mithras (p. 100), a god of light, who slew his

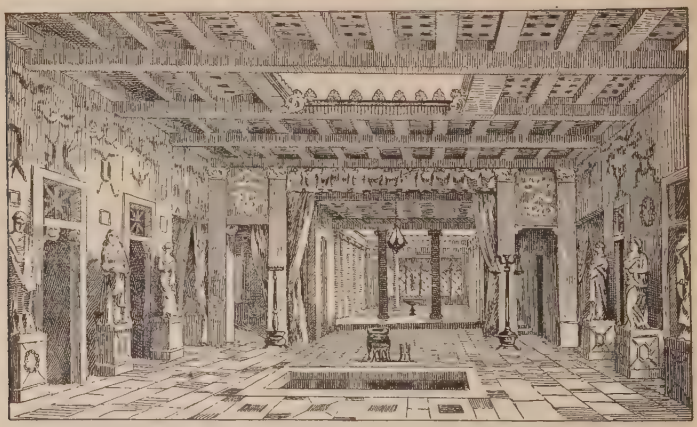

FIG. 129. INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF A WEALTHY ROMAN CITIZEN IN POMPEII

The walls of the houses in Pompeii (Fig. 128) are now often found preserved up to the tops of the doors, or even sometimes to the ceiling. These walls still bear their beautiful decorative paintings, while the floors are paved with many-colored marble blocks of splendid mosaics like Fig. 99. Sumptuous rugs and hangings also enriched walls and floors. Statues from Greece (p. 284; cut, p. 214), and many bronze lamps, tripods, and candelabra (see rear of first room) for lighting and heating adorned the rooms and halls. Immense wealth was expended on luxury in such fittings. Cicero, not a man of great wealth, is reported to have spent over fifty thousand dollars for a single table

Persian Mithras

enemy the bull, was a great favorite, and many a legion had its underground chapel where its members celebrated his triumph. All these faiths had their "mysteries," consisting chiefly of

The oriental "mysteries"; their popularity

dramatic presentations of the career of the god. In the Egyptian religion and that of the Great Mother, his submission to death, his triumph over it, and ascent to everlasting life made

a deep impression.[1] It was believed that to witness these things and to submit to certain holy ceremonies of initiation would bring to the initiated deliverance from evil, the power to share in the endless life of the god, and to dwell with him forever.

Decline of Roman religion

The old Roman faith had little to do with conduct and held out to the worshiper no such hopes as these. Little wonder that the Roman multitude found the attraction of these oriental faiths and the blessed future insured by their "mysteries" irresistible. At the same time it was possible to learn the future of every individual, as all believed, by the use of Babylonian astrology (p. 84), and its mysterious practices were everywhere. The orientals who practiced it were called Chaldeans (p. 84) or Magi.[2]

Astrology

Judaism

The Jews too, now that their temple in Jerusalem (p. 108) had been destroyed by the Romans, were to be found in increasing numbers in the larger cities. Strabo, a geographer of the early Empire, says of them, "This people has already made its way into every city, and it would be hard to find a place in the habitable world which has not admitted this race and been dominated by it." The Roman world was becoming accustomed to their synagogues; but the Jews refused to acknowledge any other gods, and their exclusiveness brought them disfavor and trouble with the government.

The Emperor a sun-god

All subjects of the Empire were required to recognize the divinity of the Emperor. He had now become a sun-god like the kings of Egypt and he was known as the "Invincible Sun" (Fig. 117). As a god he stood for the majesty and glory of the Roman dominion. The inhabitants of each province might revere their particular gods, undisturbed by the government, but all were obliged, as good citizens, to join in the official sacrifices to the head of the State, as a god. His birthday was on the twenty-fifth of December.

The worship of the Emperor

1 See the account of the resurrection of Osiris, p. 27.

2 The Magi were originally an order of oriental priests. Our word "magic" is derived from this name.

Spread of Christianity

Among all these faiths of the East that were displacing the old religion of Rome, the common people were more and more inclining toward one of which we have not yet spoken. It too came out of the East. Its teachers told how their Master, Jesus, was born in Palestine, the land of the Jews, in the days of Augustus, and how he had caught a vision of human brotherhood and of divine fatherhood, surpassing that which the Hebrew prophets had once discerned (p. 106). This faith he preached for a few years — till he incurred the hatred of his countrymen and they put him to death.

Paul and the foundation of the earliest churches

A Jewish tent-maker named Paul, a man gifted with passionate eloquence and unquenchable love for his Master, passed far and wide through the cities of Asia Minor and Greece, and even to Rome, proclaiming his Master's teaching. He left behind him a line of devoted communities stretching from Palestine to Rome. A group of letters which he wrote to his followers were circulating widely among them and were read with eagerness. They are preserved to us in the New Testament. The slave and the freedman, the artizan and craftsman, the humble and the despised in the huge barracks which sheltered the poor in Rome, listened to this new "mystery" from the East, as they thought it to be, and, as time passed, multitudes accepted it and found joy in the hopes which it awakened.

Rome persecutes the early Christians

Thus was Christianity launched upon the great tide of Roman life. The officers of government often found these early converts not only refusing to acknowledge the divinity of the Emperor and to sacrifice to him, but also openly prophesying the downfall of the Roman State. They were therefore more than once called upon to endure cruel persecution. Their religion seemed incompatible with good citizenship, since it forbade them to show the usual respect for the government. Nevertheless their numbers steadily grew.

Section 48. Internal Revolution and the Collapse of Ancient Civilization

Marcus Aurelius and his great efforts to maintain the Roman State

Meantime there was steady decline in the prosperity of the Empire as more and more farm lands lay idle; population decreased and the burden of taxes on those who remained grew heavier. The able rule of Marcus Aurelius, who began to reign in 161 A.D., marked the end of two centuries of internal peace (p. 287) which contrast sharply with the age that followed him. He found a great scarcity of money among the people, and it was increasingly difficult to collect the taxes necessary to maintain the State and support the army with which he was struggling to keep back the incoming hordes of barbarian invasion on the northern frontiers (Fig. 114).

Marcus Aurelius' enlightened rule

Yet he found time amid the growing anxieties of his position, even as he sat in his tent on a dangerous campaign in the heart of the barbarous north, to record his thoughts and leave the world a little volume of meditations which are among the most precious legacies of the past. His ability and enlightened statesmanship were only equaled by the purity and beauty of his personal life. He granted salaries of six hundred gold pieces (about $1600) to the heads of the four schools of philosophy at Athens. This was the first state support received by this "university" of Athens, and marked another effort to maintain the old Greek culture against the oriental religions. Marcus Aurelius was the finest spirit among all the Roman emperors, and there was never another like him on the imperial throne.

The fearful revolution of the third century A.D.

Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, was one of the most detestable in the long list of Roman emperors, and as we enter the third century A.D. one such worthless ruler after another was set up by the army; for unfortunately no satisfactory means of selecting an emperor had ever been devised, and whenever they wished, the army elected a new emperor. Such an appointee of the army in one province often found himself confronted by a rival in another province. We have already seen

Eighty emperors in ninety years

how degenerate the army became (p. 288), and it was chiefly from such a class as these military frontiersmen that the Roman Empire received eighty rulers in ninety years after the death of the son of Marcus Aurelius. In order to gain additional opportunity for taxation, one of them gave Roman citizenship to all free men dwelling in any community ruled by Rome (212 A.D.). All distinction between Roman and non-Roman passed away. Citizenship however meant nothing which could better the situation, as the troops tossed the scepter of Rome from one ignorant soldier-emperor to another.

Collapse of ancient civilization

While tumult and fighting between rival emperors hastened economic decay and national bankruptcy, the affairs of the nation passed from bad to worse. For fifty years there was no public order. Life and property were nowhere safe. Turbulence, robbery, and murder were everywhere. While no Roman subject attempted to overthrow the Empire, and all men revered it as eternal, nevertheless in this tempest of anarchy during the third century A.D. the civilization of the ancient world suffered final collapse. The supremacy of mind and of scientific knowledge won by the Greeks in the *third century B.C.* yielded to the reign of ignorance and superstition in these social disasters of the *third century A.D.*

Diocletian; the Roman Empire becomes an oriental despotism (284–305 A.D.)

The world which issued from these disasters toward 300 A.D. under Diocletian, was a totally different one from that which Augustus and the Roman Senate had ruled three centuries before. When Diocletian succeeded in restoring order, he deprived the shadowy Senate of all power, except for the municipal government of the city of Rome. The Roman Emperor thus became for the whole Roman world, what he had always been in Egypt, an absolute monarch with none to limit his power. The State had been completely militarized and orientalized. With the unlimited power of the oriental despot the Emperor now assumed also its outward symbols — the diadem, the gorgeous robe embroidered with pearls and precious stones, the throne and footstool, at which all who came into his presence must bow down

to the dust. Thus ended the long struggle of democracy which we have followed through so many centuries of the career of man in the ancient world.

Oppressive taxation

As far back as the days of Marcus Aurelius, it had proved difficult for the Roman government to raise enough by taxation to maintain itself. The situation in the reign of Diocletian was far worse. The business of the State was now in the hands of a vast number of local officials graded into many ranks and classes. This multitude and the huge army had all to be paid and supported. It required a great deal of money also to maintain the luxurious court of the Emperor surrounded by his innumerable palace officials and servants, and to supply "bread and circuses" for the populace of the towns (p. 294). All sorts of taxes and exactions were consequently devised by ingenious officials to make up the necessary revenue.

Bad methods of collection

When the scarcity of coin made it impossible to collect the land tax in money, the deficit was taken in grain or produce from the granary of the delinquent tax payer. As this collection of produce increased, the tax tended to become a mere share in the yield of the lands, and thus the Roman Empire sank to a primitive system of taxation already thousands of years old in the Orient (p. 29). The crushing burden of this great land tax, the Emperor's chief source of income, was much increased by the bad way in which it was collected. The government made a group of the richer citizens in each of the towns permanently responsible for the whole amount due each year from all the landowners within their district. It was their business to collect the taxes and make up any deficiency, it mattered not from what cause.

Resulting impoverishment

This responsibility, together with the weight of the taxes themselves, ruined so many landowners that the government was forced to decree that no one should desert his estates in order to escape the exactions. Only the very rich could stand the drain on their resources and even wealthy families were impoverished. The middle class sank into poverty and despair and

many a worthy man secretly fled from his lands to become a wandering beggar, or even to take up a life of robbery and violence. In this way the Empire lost just that prosperous class of citizens who should have been the leaders in business enterprises.

Disappearance of liberty and free citizenship

Under this oriental despotism the liberty for which men had striven so long disappeared in Europe, and the once free Roman citizen had no independent life of his own. Even his wages and the prices of the goods he bought or sold were as far as possible fixed for him by the Emperor. For the will of the Emperor had now become law, and his decrees were dispatched throughout the length and breadth of the Roman dominions. His innumerable officials kept an eye upon even the humblest citizen. They watched the grain dealers, butchers, and bakers, and saw to it that they properly supplied the public and never deserted their occupation. If the government could have had its way, it would have had every one belong to a definite class of society, and his children after him. In some cases it forced the son to follow the profession of his father. It kept the unruly poor in the towns quiet by furnishing them with bread, and sometimes with wine, meat, and clothes. It continued to provide amusement for them by expensive entertainments, such as races and gladiatorial combats. In a word, the Roman government now attempted to regulate almost every interest in life.

Staggering under his crushing burden of taxes, in a state which was practically bankrupt, the citizen of every class had now become a mere cog in the vast machinery of the government. He had no other function than to toil for the State, which exacted so much of the fruit of his labor that he was fortunate if it proved barely possible for him to survive on the balance. As a mere toiler for the State, he was finally where the peasant on the Nile had been for thousands of years. The Emperor had become a Pharaoh, and the Roman Empire a colossal Egypt of ancient days.

Such a complete transformation of State and society in the Roman Empire was accomplished only by unlimited application

of the most brutal force. Diocletian increased the size of the army fourfold in spite of the additional expense and the increased burden of taxation. A vicious circle was thus set up. More troops cost more money, but they also meant greater ability to suppress disorders and collect taxes. The decreasing population of the Empire was insufficient to furnish the troops for the increased army. Diocletian was obliged to allow whole tribes of German barbarians to cross the border as military colonies furnishing troops for his great army. Thus the barbarians were enlisted in the Roman legions to help keep out their fellow Germans. Julius Cæsar was the first to give them a place among his soldiers. This custom became more and more common, until, finally, whole armies were German, entire tribes being enlisted under their own chiefs. Some of the Germans rose to be distinguished generals; others attained important positions as officials of the government.

The army and the barbarians

In order to replenish the shrinking population likewise, great numbers of the German tribes were encouraged to settle within the Empire, where they became *coloni*. Constantine (306–337 A.D.) is said to have called in three hundred thousand of a single people. In this way it came about that a great many of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire were Germans before the great invasions, and the line dividing the citizens of the Roman Empire from the barbarians was already growing indistinct.

Population of the Empire and the German barbarians

As the Empire declined in strength and prosperity and was gradually permeated by the barbarians, its art and literature rapidly degenerated. The buildings and monuments of Rome after Marcus Aurelius incline toward tawdry vulgarity in design and barbarous crudity in execution. The writings of the decadent Romans of this age fell far below the standard of the great literary men of the golden age of Augustus. Nor did the readers of the time demand anything better. The distinction of Cicero's clear style lost its charm for the readers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and a flowery kind of rhetoric took its place. No

Decline of literature and art

more great men of letters arose. Few of those who understand and enjoy Latin literature to-day would think of reading for pleasure any of the poetry or prose written in the later centuries of the Roman Empire.

Reliance on mere textbooks

During the three hundred years before the barbarian invasions those who studied at all did not ordinarily take the trouble to read the best books of the earlier Greek and Roman writers, but relied upon mere collections of quotations, and got their information from textbooks put together by often ignorant compilers. These textbooks the Middle Ages inherited and continued to use. The great Greek writers were forgotten altogether, and only a few of the better known Latin authors like Cicero, Horace, and Virgil continued to be copied and read.

Section 49. The Triumph of Christianity

Constantine; foundation of Constantinople

Like so many of the emperors of his time Diocletian had risen from the ranks of provincial troops and felt little attachment for the city of Rome. The pressure of dangerous enemies on the oriental frontier and the threatening flood of German barbarians along the lower Danube kept him much in the East, and still further detached him from Rome. Similar conditions led Constantine to forsake Rome altogether, to shift his residence eastward, and to establish a new seat of government on the Bosporus at the old Greek city of Byzantium (see map, p. 146). The Emperor stripped many an ancient city of its great monuments in order to secure materials for the beautification of his splendid residence. Some of these monuments from older places still stand in Constantinople (Fig. 130). By 330 A.D. the new capital on the Bosporus was a magnificent monumental city, whence the Emperor might overlook both Europe and Asia.

Simple organization of early Christianity

Meantime one of the most important changes in the whole career of man was slowly taking place within the Roman Empire. The long struggle of Christianity among the older religions of the Mediterranean and the Orient (p. 300) had steadily

continued. The first Christians looked for the speedy return of Christ before their own generation should pass away. Since all were filled with enthusiasm for the Gospel and eagerly awaited

FIG. 130. ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The obelisk in the foreground (nearly one hundred feet high) was first set up in Thebes, Egypt, by the conqueror Thutmose III (p. 46); it was erected here by the Roman Emperor Theodosius (p. 309). The small spiral column at the right is the base of a bronze tripod set up by the Greeks at Delphi (Fig. 82) in commemoration of their victory over the Persians at Platæa (p. 177). The names of thirty-one Greek cities which took part in the battle are still to be read, engraved on this base. These monuments of ancient oriental and Greek supremacy stand in what was the Roman horse-race course when the earlier Greek city of Byzantium became the eastern capital of Rome (p. 306). Finally, the great mosque behind the obelisk, with its slender minarets, represents the triumph of Islam under the Turks, who took the city in 1453 A.D.

the last day, they did not feel the need for much organization. But as time went on the Christian communities greatly increased in size, and many persons joined them who had little or none of the original earnestness and devotion. It became necessary to develop a regular system of church government in order to

control the sinful and expel those who brought disgrace upon their religion by notoriously bad conduct.

The "Catholic," or universal, church

Gradually the followers of Christ came to believe in a "Catholic" — that is, a universal — church which embraced all the groups of true believers in Christ, wherever they might be. To this one universal church all must belong who hoped to be saved.[1] A sharp distinction was already made between the officers of the Church, who were called the *clergy*, and the people, or *laity*. To the clergy was committed the government of the Church, as well as the teaching of its members. In each of the Roman cities was a bishop, and at the head of each of the country communities a priest, who had derived his name from the original elders mentioned in the New Testament.[2] It was not unnatural that the bishops in the chief towns of the Roman provinces should be especially influential in church affairs. They came to be called archbishops, and might summon the bishops of the province to a council to decide important matters.

Organization of the Church before Constantine

Bishops, priests, and archbishops

Constantine favors the Church

Thus Christianity, once the faith of the weak and the despised, gained a strong organization and became politically powerful. The result was that in 311 the Roman Emperor Galerius[3] issued a decree placing the Christian religion upon the same legal footing as the worship of the Roman gods. Constantine, the first Christian emperor, strictly enforced this edict. His successors soon began to issue laws which gave the Christian clergy important privileges and forbade the worship of the old pagan gods. The splendid temples of the gods, which fringed the Mediterranean (cut, p. 166) and extended far up the Nile into inner Africa, were then closed and deserted, as they are to-day (Fig. 28, Plate III, p. 180).

The end of the old religions

[1] "Whoever separates himself from the Church," writes St. Cyprian (died 258) "is separated from the promises of the Church. . . . He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy; he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If any one could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the Church." See *Readings in European History*, chap. ii.

[2] Our word "priest" comes from the Greek word *presbyter*, meaning "elder."

[3] One of the emperors ruling jointly with Constantine.

The Church in the Theodosian Code

In the last book of the Theodosian Code — a great collection of the laws of the Empire, which was completed in 438 — all the emperors' decrees are to be found which relate to the Christian Church and the clergy. We find that the clergy, in view of their holy duties, were exempted from certain burdensome government offices and from some of the taxes which the laity had to pay. They were also permitted to receive bequests. The emperors themselves built churches and helped the Church in many ways (see below, section 52). Their example was followed by rulers and private individuals all through the Middle Ages, so that the Church became incredibly wealthy and enjoyed a far greater income than any state of Europe. The clergy were permitted to try certain law cases, and they themselves had the privilege of being tried in their own church courts for minor criminal offenses.

Heresy punished as crime

The Theodosian Code makes it *unlawful* for any one to differ from the beliefs of the Catholic Church. Those who dared to disagree with the teachings of the Church were called *heretics*. If heretics ventured to come together, their meetings were to be broken up and the teachers heavily fined. Houses in which the doctrines of the heretics were taught were to be confiscated by the government. The books containing their teachings were to be sought out with the utmost care and burned under the eyes of the magistrate; and if any one was convicted of concealing a heretical book, he was to suffer capital punishment.

It is clear, then, that very soon after the Christian Church was recognized by the Roman government, it induced the emperors to grant the clergy particular favors, to destroy the pagan temples and prohibit pagan worship, and, finally, to persecute all those who ventured to disagree with the orthodox teachings of the Church.

We shall find that the governments in the Middle Ages, following the example of the Roman emperors, continued to grant the clergy special privileges and to persecute heretics, often in a very cruel manner (see below, section 81).

The Church survives the Empire

In these provisions of the Theodosian Code the later medieval Church is clearly foreshadowed. The imperial government in the West was soon overthrown by the barbarian conquerors, but the Catholic Church converted and ruled these conquerors. When the officers of the Empire deserted their posts, the bishops stayed to meet the oncoming invader. They continued to represent the old civilization and ideas of order. It was the Church that kept the Latin language alive among those who knew only a rude German dialect. It was the Church that maintained some little education even in the times of greatest ignorance, for without the ability to read Latin the priests could not have performed the religious services and the bishops could not have carried on their correspondence with one another.

Section 50. Retrospect

Retrospect

As we stand here at the close of the career of ancient civilization, we may look back for a moment and glance over the vast vista traversed by early man. For some fifty thousand years he struggled upward through the Stone Age, from which he emerged into civilized life for the first time in the Orient. There we found the first home of civilization in the valley of the Nile, where it arose over five thousand years ago, appearing later also along the lower Euphrates. From these early homes it contributed for ages to the civilization of the Mediterranean world, till Greek genius arose to assert its own independent individuality and the supremacy of mind. At Salamis and Marathon Hellas repulsed the sovereignty of the East and of eastern ideals of government and thought. That victory was not in vain, for it stirred free Athens, as we have seen, to the greatest intellectual achievements in her history. But we have said before that the repulse of Persia was not final (p. 237).

Final orientalization of the Mediterranean

The tide from the East could not be stayed by a successful battle or two. It swept through the Mediterranean with increasing power, till Rome, the last great state of the ancient

world, was conquered by the civilization of that Orient which she despised. Her ruler became an oriental sultan; his methods of government and administration were orientalized; oriental religion and methods of thought were supreme; and at Constantinople life and art were also oriental. By Rome oriental monarchy was introduced into Europe, where it later so profoundly affected the history of our ancestors, and in the Roman Empire free citizenship perished. Thus the final organization of Rome (in spite of the Republic out of which it grew) has proved one of the great links between the world to which we belong and the despotism of the early Orient behind Rome.

The greatest office of Rome

One leading element in the organization of Rome always remained her own, and this was law. In Roman law, still a power in modern government, we have the great creation of Roman genius, which has more profoundly affected the later world than any other Roman institution. Another great office of Rome was the universal spread of that international civilization which had been brought forth by Greece in contact with the Orient. She gave to that civilization the far-reaching organization which under the Greeks it had lacked. That organization, though completely transformed into oriental despotism, endured for five centuries and withstood the tide of barbarian invasion from the grasslands of the north (p. 86), which would otherwise have overwhelmed the disorganized Greek world long before. Herein lies much of the significance of Rome. The Roman State was the last bulwark of civilization intrenched on the Mediterranean against the Indo-European hordes pouring in from those same northern pastures, where the ancestors of Greek and Roman alike had once fed their flocks. But the bulwark, though shaken, did not fall because of hostile assaults from without. It fell because of decay within, and because it could not keep itself impervious to the tide of life from the East.

After the foundation of Constantinople the Roman Empire for a time remained one in law, government, and culture. Even

Futile effort to maintain the unity of the Empire

before the death of Diocletian, however, there was a tendency for the eastern and western portions to drift apart. Constantine had established his sole supremacy only after a long struggle with his rivals. Thereafter there were often two emperors, one in the west and one in the east, but they were supposed to govern one empire conjointly and in "unanimity." New laws were to be accepted by both. The writers of the time do not speak of two states but continue to refer to "the Empire," as if the administration were still in the hands of one ruler. Indeed, the idea of one government for all civilized mankind did not disappear but continued to influence men during the whole of the Middle Ages.

There were often two emperors, but only *one* Empire

The end of the ancient world

The foundation of Constantinople and the establishment of a western emperor at Rome left the venerable city dangerously isolated; it was a fatal step toward the surrender of Rome and the West to the barbarians, who were already gaining possession of the Empire by peaceable migration (p. 305). From the barbarism which engulfed it in the fifth century A.D. the Roman west did not emerge for centuries. The Roman Empire surviving at Constantinople belonged, as we have seen, to the East and was essentially an oriental state. This was the outcome of the long struggle of civilization in the Mediterranean. Its finest fruits — democracy, free citizenship, creative art, and independent thought unshackled by theology — had perished.

Eastern Empire lasts until 1453 A.D.

Although it was in the eastern part of the Empire that the barbarians first got a permanent foothold, the emperors at Constantinople were able to keep a portion of the old possessions of the Empire under their rule for centuries after the Germans had completely conquered the West. When at last the eastern capital of the Empire fell, it was not into the hands of the Germans, but into those of the Turks, who have held it ever since 1453 (Fig. 130).

There will be no room in this volume to follow the history of the Eastern Empire, although it cannot be entirely ignored in studying western Europe. Its language and civilization had

always been Greek, and owing to this and the influence of the Orient, its civilization offers a marked contrast to that of the Latin West, which was adopted by the Germans. Learning of a mechanical type never died out in the East as it did in the West, nor did art reach so low an ebb. For some centuries after the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, the capital of the Eastern Empire enjoyed the distinction of being the largest and most wealthy city of Europe. Within its walls could be found a refinement and civilization which had almost disappeared in the West, and its beautiful buildings, its parks, and paved streets filled travelers from the West with astonishment.

Constantinople, the most wealthy and populous city of Europe during the early Middle Ages

QUESTIONS

SECTION 45. Recount the career of Octavian. Did he wish to destroy the Republic? Describe the office which he wished to hold under it. What kind of an adjustment of power resulted? Could it be permanent? What was the foreign policy of Augustus? Define the extent of the Empire and name some of the peoples it included.

What is the distance from the Atlantic coast of Spain to the Euphrates, and how far would a line of this length reach across the United States? Describe the condition of the army at this time; of the Empire as a whole. What did Augustus attempt to restore? Give some account of Horace and Virgil. Contrast Greek and Roman literature. Discuss philosophy in Augustan Rome. Give some account of Roman law.

SECTION 46. What conditions did a wealthy Roman traveler find during the first century of the Roman Empire? in Hellas? in the East? in Egypt? in the West? How long did the peace established by Augustus last? Mention the chief causes of decline during this period.

Describe a Roman villa. Discuss slavery. Define *coloni*, and compare them with slaves. What was happening to the population of the Empire as a whole? Describe city life. What oriental influences are discernible?

SECTION 47. Discuss the oriental religions in the Mediterranean. Describe the spread of Christianity.

SECTION 48. Whose reign marked the end of the two centuries of peace? Give an account of this reign. What followed? Describe

the revolution of the third century A.D. What happened to the highest civilization? What kind of a Roman state issued from this revolution?

Who organized it? What was now the character of taxation? What was the result? Describe the army under Diocletian and later. Discuss literature and art under the declining Roman Empire.

SECTION 49. Where was the Emperor's new residence and who founded it? Tell what religion now triumphed and how it came about. How was the Christian Church organized and what were bishops and archbishops?

What privileges are granted to the Christian clergy in the Theodosian Code? Define heresy. How were heretics treated according to Roman law?

SECTION 50. Sketch the career of man to the fall of ancient civilization. What influences were the leading ones in the Eastern Empire? What were the greatest offices of Rome? Discuss the unity of the Empire after the founding of Constantinople. What happened to Rome and the West? How long did the Eastern Empire survive, and what was it like?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is not the aim of this bibliography to mention all of even the important books in various languages that relate to the period in question. The writer is well aware that teachers are busy people and that high-school libraries and local public libraries usually furnish at best only a few historical works. It is therefore most important that those books should be given prominence in this list which the teacher has some chance of procuring and finding the time to use. It not infrequently happens that the best account of a particular period or topic is in a foreign language or in a rare publication, such as a doctor's dissertation, which could only be found in one of our largest libraries. All such titles, however valuable, are omitted from this list. They can be found mentioned in all the more scholarly works in the various fields.

The ancient world seems so remote and unreal to the young student who is taking it up for the first time that it is very necessary to emphasize strongly the reality of man's early career. This can be done in a number of ways, but *most effectively* by visualization. If a class of high-school boys and girls could be taken through the British Museum and shown the tools and implements used by early man, the letters dictated by Hammurapi to his secretary and written on clay in 2100 B.C., and the letters written by Roman citizens in the days when the apostles were preaching early Christianity; or if they could enter the National Museum at Cairo and look into the very flesh and blood faces of Egyptian kings who ruled the Orient centuries before Moses lived; or if our young people could visit the Berlin Museum and see there, cut in stone, relief pictures of the Egyptian ships which sailed the Mediterranean in the thirtieth century B.C., there would be little difficulty in impressing these visitors with the reality of the ancient world, and the importance of the inheritance which the early world has left us.

In lieu of such museum visits, or travels among ancient cities, the treatment of the ancient world in this book has been very plentifully sprinkled with illustrations to supplement the text. The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that *a careful study of the illustrations belongs to every lesson assigned*. The explanatory matter under each figure should be thoroughly studied in connection with the accompanying text, and full discussion of every illustration and its description should regularly be required of the class. Outside illustrative matter ought also to be used. Besides the Underwood stereoscopic views, the teacher will find a large body of illustrative matter in the author's *Ancient Times*, accompanied by full explanations.

As a result of the difficulty of the subject and the very rapid progress of discovery and research, there are relatively few books on prehistoric man and the early Orient which are not either entirely out of date or quite unsuited for use by younger students, or even by their teachers. Especially in the important matter of chronology most of the current books are quite out of date. Let the teacher note particularly that the enormously remote dates for Babylonian history once current have been given up by all the leading Orientalists in view of recent conclusive evidence. Our oldest written documents in Babylonia are not older than the thirty-first century B.C. Fortunately interest in Bible study has brought forth a very useful group of books in Palestinian history; hence the larger number of titles in this department below. In Greek and Roman history too, where written sources are more plentiful and modern study of the subject has made further progress, the available books are better and far more numerous.

A small high-school library on the ancient world, of moderate cost, including a standard book or two on each main period or topic, has been indicated in the following list by a dagger (†) before each title to be included. All books with a star (*) are suited chiefly for the teacher, and are rather advanced for the student.

CHAPTER I

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C. Mythology and religion

*BREASTED, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.*

D. Social life

†ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt.*

E. Excavation and discovery

EDWARDS, *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers.* PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt.* WEIGALL, *Treasury of the Nile.* A quarterly journal begun in 1914, called *Ancient Egypt*, edited by Petrie, reports all discoveries as fast as made. ($2.00 a year; subscriptions taken by Dr. W. C. Winslow, 525 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.)

F. Original sources in English

*BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt.* Vols. I–V. †PETRIE, *Egyptian Tales.*

G. The monuments as they are today.

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†Fairbanks, A., *Handbook of Greek Religion.* Fairbanks, A., *Mythology of the Greeks and Romans.* — *D.* Mythology and religion

†Baikie, J., *Sea Kings of Crete.* †Tarbell, *History of Greek Art.* Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology.* — *E.* Art and archæology

†Jebb, *Greek Literature.* †Murray, G., *History of Ancient Greek Literature.* †Marshall, *Short History of Greek Philosophy.* — *F.* Literature and philosophy

Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chaps. xvii–xviii. — *G.* Economic development

†Michaelis, *A Century of Archæological Discoveries.* Periodic reports of current discoveries will be found in the magazine called *Art and Archæology* (see above, p. 700). — *H.* Exploration and discovery

The Underwood & Underwood Series of Stereoscopic Photographs of Greece and its Monuments, edited by Richardson, *Greece through the Stereoscope* (100 views with guidebook and maps; a short description is also printed on the back of each view). See remarks above, p. 698. (A selection of fifteen of the most useful views comprises Nos. 1, 8, 21, 35, 39, 42, 48, 54, 62, 64, 77, 80, 87, 96, 97.) — *I.* The monuments as they are to-day

CHAPTER X

†Botsford, *History of Rome*, chaps. i–viii. Goodspeed, *Ancient World*, pp. 276–428. Westermann, *Ancient Nations*, chaps. xxiii–xxxiv. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, chaps. xxii–xxvi. Fairley-Seignobos, — *A.* Histories

History of the Roman People, chaps. i–xvii. SEIGNOBOS, *Ancient Civilization*, chaps. xvii–xxiii. FOWLER, *Rome*, chaps. i–vii. PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 3–397. †ABBOTT, *Short History of Rome*, pp. 1–179. HEITLAND, *Short History of the Roman Republic*. LIDDELL, *History of Rome* (to 31 B.C.). HOW and LEIGH, *History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar*. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Rome under the Oligarchs, 202–133 B.C.* MASOM and WOODHOUSE, *History of Rome, 390–202 B.C.* MASOM, *Decline of the Oligarchy, 133–78 B.C.* ALLCROFT, *Making of the Monarchy, 78–31 B.C.*

B. Sources and source selections

Short extracts in †BOTSFORD, *Story of Rome*, chaps. i–viii; †MUNRO, *Source Book for Roman History*, chaps. i–viii; DAVIS, *Readings in Ancient History*, Vol. II, pp. 1–166; †BOTSFORD, *Source Book of Ancient History*, chaps. xxviii–xxxvii; HARDY, *Six Roman Laws*. Sources in †LIVY, *Histories* (Everyman's Library); APPIAN, *History*, translated by White; †PLUTARCH, Lives of Romulus, Numa, Pyrrhus, Sulla, Marius, Cicero, Cæsar, translated by Clough (Everyman's Library); POLYBIUS, *Histories*, translated by Shuckburgh; CICERO, *Letters*, translated by Shuckburgh; †CÆSAR, *Commentaries* (Bohn Library); NEPOS, *Lives* (Bohn Library).

CHAPTER XI

A. Histories

†BOTSFORD, *Roman History*, chaps. ix–xiii. DAVIS, *Outline History of the Roman Empire*. JONES, H. S., *Story of the Roman Empire*. BURY, *Roman Empire* (to 180 A.D.). ALLCROFT and HAYDON, *Early Principate*. Also the books mentioned above under Chapter X, *A*.

B. Sources and source selections

Short extracts in †MUNRO, *Source Book of Roman History*, chaps. ix–xii; DAVIS, *Readings in Ancient History*, Vol. II, pp. 167–309; †BOTSFORD, *Story of Rome*, chaps. viii–xi; †BOTSFORD, *Source Book of Ancient History*, chaps. xxxviii–xlii.

A FEW ADDITIONAL REFERENCE WORKS ON ANCIENT ROME, ARRANGED TOPICALLY

A full list of such works will appear in the author's *History of the Early World*.

A. General and political history

†BURY, J. B., *Roman Empire* (to 180 A.D.). JONES, H. S., *The Roman Empire to 476 A.D.*

B. Social life

†ABBOTT, F. F., *Common People of Ancient Rome*. †ABBOTT, F. F., *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*. †JOHNSTON, H. W., *Private Life of the Romans*.

C. Constitutional and institutional history

†GREENIDGE, A. H. J., *Roman Public Life*.

†FAIRBANKS, A., *Mythology of Greece and Rome.* †GRANGER, A., *Worship of the Romans.* — *D.* Mythology and religion

†MAU and KELSEY, *Pompeii, its Life and Art.* †PLATNER, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome.* — *E.* Art and archæology

†MACKAIL, *Latin Literature.* FOWLER, *History of Roman Literature.* †FARRAR, F. W., *Seekers after God.* — *F.* Literature and philosophy

†DAVIS, W. S., *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome.* †MATTINGLY, *Imperial Civil Service.* — *G.* Economic development

MICHAELIS, *A Century of Archæological Discoveries.* Periodic reports from the field in the magazine called *Art and Archæology* (see above, p. 700). — *H.* Exploration and discovery

The Underwood & Underwood Series of Stereoscopic Photographs of Rome and Italy, edited by ELLISON and EGBERT, *Italy through the Stereoscope* (100 views with explanatory volume and set of maps). See above, p. 698. (A selection of the most useful fifteen views comprises **Nos. 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 33, 34, 43, 45, 46, 47, 58, 60, 62, 91.**) — *I.* The monuments as they are to-day

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